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POEM,

WRITTEN A.D. 1636.

BY THE REV. RICHARD JAMES, B.D.,
FELLOW OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, OXFORD.

NOW FIRST PRINTED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT IN THE
BODLEIAN LIBRARY, OXFORD.

EDITED,
WITH NOTES AND AN INTRODUCTORY MEMOIR,
BY

THE REV. THOMAS CORSER, M.A.,
VICAR OF NORTON, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE,
AND PERPETUAL CURATE OF STAND, LANCASHIRE.

"Duplici circumdatus æstu
Carminis et Rerum." — MANILIUS.

PRINTED FOR THE CHETHAM SOCIETY.

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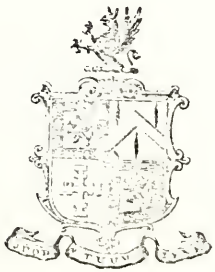

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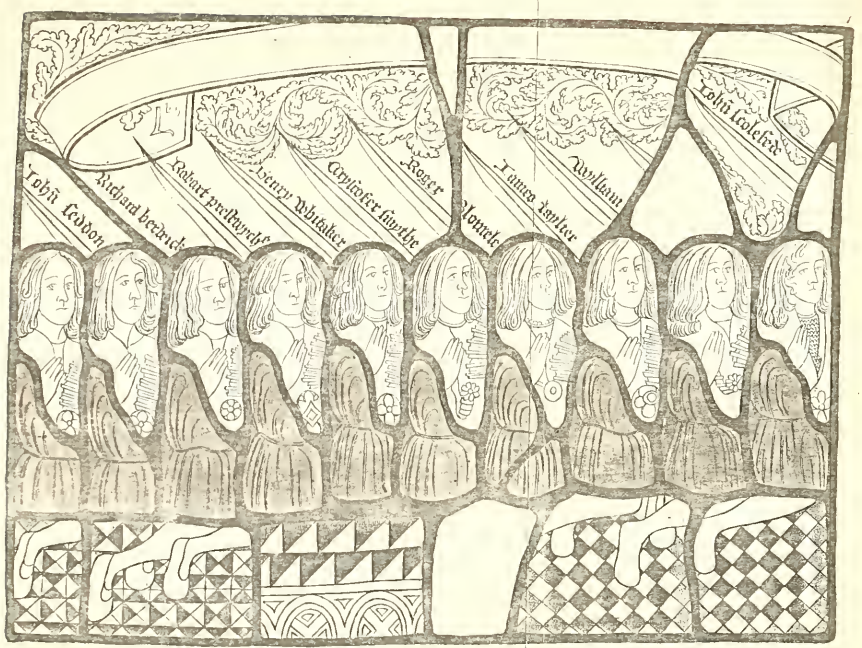

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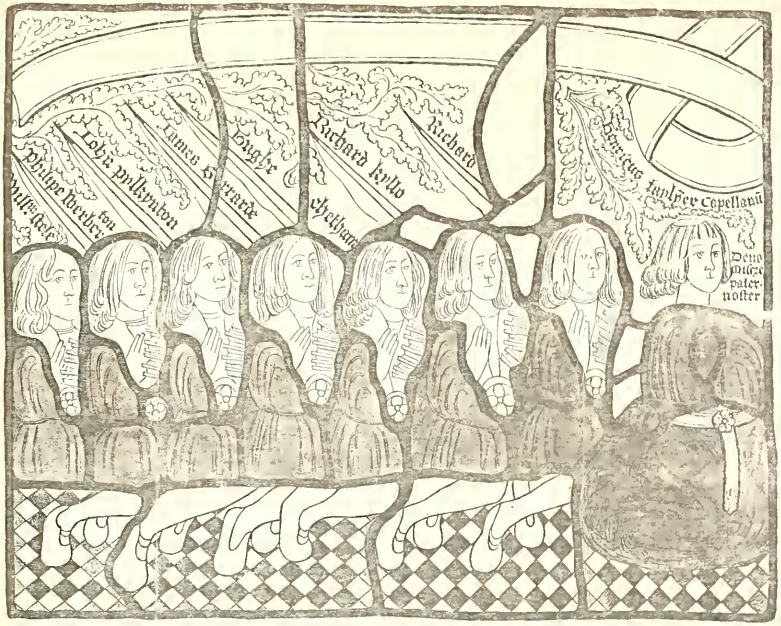

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Iter Lancastrense:a poem,written A.D.1636,by the Rev.Richard James,B.D. fellow of Corpus Christi College,Oxford.Edited with notes and an introductory memoir,by Thomas Corser.
1845
Vol.7

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INTRODUCTION.

FOR the singular and curious Poem which is now, for the first time, presented to the public in the following pages, we are indebted to the learning and talent of the Rev. Richard James, B.D., an eminent scholar and antiquary of the earlier part of the seventeenth century. He was a distinguished Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and most of his autograph MSS., including the one now printed, are preserved in the Bodleian Library in that University. The Poem here selected from that Collection, is replete with curious and learned observations, showing the author's extensive knowledge of our early legendary lore, and his skilful acquirement, not only of the classical, but also of the Saxon and Gothic languages. Its touches also of dry sarcastic humour, together with the quaint and affected style in which it is written, render it highly characteristic and interesting; and relating, as it does, to the

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From this pedigree it appears that Thomas James was the fifth son of Richard James, (eldest son and heir of Thomas James,) by Jane Annernon, his wife, and was born about the year 1571, at Newport, in the Isle of Wight, educated first at Winchester School, on the foundation, and afterwards at New College, Oxford, of which he became Fellow in 1593. He took his first degree of B.A. in 1595, and of M.A. on February 5th, in 1598. He appears to have very early acquired a knowledge of the classical and other languages, and distinguished himself as a collector of curious MSS., and a diligent searcher into their contents. In 1598, he published his first work, which was "A Commentary upon the Canticle of Canticles, written in Italian by Antonio Bruccioli, and translated into English by Tho. James, Fell. of New College, Oxford." Lond. 1598, 8vo. Licensed to Thomas Man;[1] and in the same year he published "The Moral Philosophie of the Stoicks, written in French, (by M. Du Vaix) and Englished for the benefit of them which are ignorant of that Tongue, by T. J. (Tho. James.)" Lond. 1598. 8vo. In the following year he printed, at Oxford, a new edition of the "Philobiblon Richardi (de Bury) Dunelmensis Episc: sive, De Amore Librorum, et Institutione Bibliothecæ, Tractatus pulcherrimus:—ex Collatione cum variis Manuscriptis Oxoniensibus, Opera et Studio T. I.," (Tho. James.) Oxon. 1599, 4to.: a book of which, curious and interesting as it is, we have yet, to our national shame be it said, no edition which a reader can take up with pleasure. The text, as edited by James, abounds with errors, which have not

[1] See Herbert's *Typog. Antiq.* p. 1334.

been corrected in the subsequent impressions abroad. He dedicated the work,— a work which may probably have kindled in his mind, as it has in many others, an inextinguishable ardour for knowledge and for amassing manuscripts and books,— to Sir Thomas Bodley, to whose notice James had been strongly recommended for his extensive learning and endowments; and who nominated him to the office of Keeper of the noble and magnificent Library which he was then building at Oxford. In this situation, so congenial to his tastes and literary habits, he was of great use to that establishment, then in its infancy, by collecting whatever books and MSS. he was able, and presenting them to the library. And among the list of Benefactors to Sir Thomas Bodley's foundation, read in Convocation July 17, 1601, "Mr. Thomas James, of New College, Oxford, is mentioned as having contributed 100 volumes, almost all in folio, and also sundry good manuscripts." Wood, indeed, says, that he was not over scrupulous in his means, and that these were not always obtained in the most correct and straightforward manner. For that "having liberty given to him by each College in Oxon to peruse their MSS.," with a view of publishing a catalogue of all the MSS. in each College Library in both Universities, "from that society which he perceived was careless of them, he borrowed and took away what he pleased, and put them forthwith in the Public Library. Several such MSS. were taken from Ball. Coll., and some from Merton, and do yet bear in their respective fronts the names of the donors of them to those houses."

This, which was the first general catalogue of MSS. ever

published in this country, appeared in 1600, under the title of "Ecloga Oxonio-Cantabrigiensis tributa in libros duos; quorum prior, continet Catalogum confusum Librorum Manuscriptorum in Bibliothecis Oxon. et Cantab.; Posterior, Catalogum eorundem distinctum et dispositum secundum quatuor facultates, &c. Opera et Studio T. I." Lond. 1600, 4to. A volume which, though now incomplete and of less value, yet, considering the period at which it was compiled, was a most meritorious undertaking, and highly creditable to the author's application and general knowledge. It was much commended at the time by Joseph Scaliger and others, as a useful work. In the same year he also produced "Bellum Papale, seu Concordia Discors Sixti V. et Clementis VIII. circa Hieronymianam Editionem, &c." Lond. 1600, 4to., which was reprinted in 1678, 8vo.; a work which thus early shewed the peculiar bias of his studies in exposing the errors and discrepancies of the Popish writers and editors. It was written to exhibit the variations, amounting to more than two thousand, in the two editions of the versions of the Latin bibles of Jerome, commonly called the Vulgate, which were set forth by Pope Sixtus in 1590, and by Pope Clement in 1592; to shew what sentences or words were *added* by Pope Clement, which were not in the edition of Pope Sixtus; and what were *left out* by Pope Clement, which were in the bibles of Pope Sixtus; with the errors and contradictions of the one against the other; and thus to strike a fatal blow at the boasted infallibility of the Pope. A new edition of this celebrated work has been lately printed in 8vo by Mr C. J. Stewart, under the superintendence of the Rev. John Edmund Cox, M.A.

In 1602, James was confirmed by the University in the office of Keeper of the Bodleian Library, to which he had been appointed by the founder; and in 1605, he printed "Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecæ Publicæ quam Thomas Bodleius Eques auratus in Academia Oxoniensi nuper instituit." Oxon. 4to. 1605; with a dedication to Prince Henry. This was reprinted, with many additions, in a thick 4to, Oxon, 1620; to which was published an Appendix in 1635–6, 4to., by John Rouse, the successor of James in the office of keeper of the library. His next work was published in 1607, and was entitled "Concordantiæ Sanctorum Patrum, i. e. vera et pia Libri Canticorum per Patres universos, tam Græcos quam Latinos Expositio," &c. Oxon, 1607, 4to.; and, in the following year, he printed an "Apology for John Wickliff, shewing his Conformity with the now Church of England," &c. Oxon, 1608, 4to. This was written in answer to the slanderous attacks made against Wickliff by Robert Parsons, the Jesuit, and others. At the end of it is added a "Life of John Wickliff."[1]

It was about this period that James, not content with his researches into the various libraries of the two Universities, arduously applied himself to examine the state of all the public libraries in England,—in which undertaking, for the great benefit of learning and the success of the Church of England, he was noticed by his friend and correspondent,

[1] "This morning arrived by our Carrier the Apologie for Wicklyffe by an Oxonian named James, I believe a librarian there in the new library; which I will reade at the first convenient leysure, and send you my opinion of it." *Mead's Letters*, *Harl. MSS.*, *A.D.* 1608.

Camden, who, in the description of Caerleon, in Monmouthshire, in his *Britannia*, calls him "a learned man and true lover of books, who devotes himself entirely to learning and books, and whose public spiritedness in examining the libraries in England has engaged him in a design that will be of singular service to the republic of letters, and in which," says he, "I most heartily wish him success."[1]

In the year 1611, Mr. James gave to the world his principal work, and the one by which he is best known, entitled "A Treatise of the Corruption of Scripture, Councils, and Fathers, by the Prelates, Pastors, and Pillars of the Church of Rome, for the maintenance of Popery and Irreligion. By Thomas James, Student in Divinity, and Chief Keeper of the Public Library in Oxford, &c. With a sufficient answer unto James Gretser and Antonie Possevine, Jesuits, and the unknown Author of 'The Grounds of the Old Religion and the New.' Divided into V. Parts." Lond. 1611. 4to. Reprinted, Lond. 1688. 8vo. In this work, which is dedicated to his Patron, Dr. George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, the learned Author endeavours to point out the perversions and forgeries which had taken place in the MSS. and early printed works of the Fathers, and the corruptions and interpolations which had gradually crept into them, not only from the ignorance and carelessness of transcribers, but often from the corrupt designs of others to serve their own party views. The work is written in English, for the benefit, as he says, of his poor deluded countrymen against the evil designs of the Papists and Jesuits, and to serve as a land-

[1] Camd. *Britann.*, Gough's Edit. v. iii. p. 109 — Monmouthshire.

mark for their direction. It is divided into five Parts. I. The Bastardy of the False Fathers. II. The Corruption of the True Fathers. III. The Variety and Contrariety of the Popish Bibles, commonly called the Vulgar Bibles, in Latin. This part contains an apology or defence of his former work, *Bellum Papale*, against some objections to it published by a Jesuit named James Gretser. IV. The contemning and condemning of Fathers; in which he lays open the corruptions and abuses of the *Indices Expurgatorii*. V. A Remedy against all manner of Popish Corruptions; in which the Author labours to show how useless it is to find out the disagreements and diseases in Books, without endeavouring at the same time to discover means for their remedy. A new Edition of this work was printed in 1843, 8vo., by Mr. J. W. Parker, under the editorship of the Rev. John Edmund Cox, of All Souls' College, Oxford, which is said to be very incorrectly done.[1] There is also an Analysis of the whole in Oldys's *Brit. Librarian*, pp. 202, 210. 8vo. Lond. 1738.

It will be unnecessary for us to give a complete list of the other works of James, or of the MSS. which he left behind him, as they are all enumerated by Ant. Wood, and by Chalmers. They are chiefly of a theological nature, and exhibit his entire devotion to one grand object,—the exposition of the errors of papacy, and the evidence of the truth of the Protestant religion from Wickliffe to his own days. The energy with which this subject was pursued by James, and the mass of evidence which his industry and learning enabled him to collect, may excite our wonder in this age of

[1] See *Brit. Mag.*, vol. 29, p. 465.

flimsy compilation; and teach us that if it be contended that we inherit the strength and prowess of our ancestors, we undoubtedly have no claim to their real and substantial erudition. The libraries of Europe were ransacked to contribute materials for the overthrow of Popish reasoning, and the Saints themselves, Cyprian, Ambrose, and Gregory, made to bear witness in their own language against the tenets and corruptions of the Court of Rome. Nor was this all. When he found that interpolations made by interested partizans had crept into the works of the ancient Fathers, he spared no pains or labour to restore them to their original purity by the diligent collation of MSS. of undoubted authority and antiquity. In this way passed the greatest part of his most useful life, and we trust that posterity will not be wanting in their tribute of admiration for his meritorious services to the cause of Protestantism.

In 1612 he published another work at Oxford, entitled, "The Jesuits' Downefall threatened against them by the Secular Priests for their wicked Lives, accursed Manners, heretical Doctrine, and more than Machiavelian Policy." Oxon. 1612. 4to.; to which is added at the end, "The Life of Father Parsons, an English Jesuite." On the 16th May, 1614, Mr. James accumulated his degrees of B.D. and D.D., (his elder brother, Edward James, of Christ Church, having been admitted D.D. with him on the same day,) and was promoted to the Sub-deanery of Wells by the Bishop of that See. And not long afterwards he was presented by the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Rectory of Little Mongeham, in Kent, to which he was instituted October 23, 1617, having

already received from the same Patron the Rectory of Midley, in that County, to which he was inducted November 11, 1609. These appear to have been Sinecure Rectories, as the Churches of both Parishes were at that time in ruins, and were retained by James till the period of his death. And it seems probable, from some of the Letters printed by Hearne in the *Reliquiæ Bodleianæ*, that they were obtained for him through the kind solicitation of Sir Thomas Bodley and other friends. In 1620 he was appointed a Justice of the Peace, and in the same year he resigned his office of Library-keeper, probably with the view of pursuing his literary labours with less interruption. We have already adverted to the peculiar nature of his studies, and the important object which he had most at heart. We may add that the earnestness and intensity with which he pursued this design is further exhibited in several letters of his annexed to Parr's *Life of Archbishop Usher*. In one of these, dated 28th January, 1623, he observes: —

"For myself I am not so far gone in years as in sicknesses; yet my body is not so weak, but my mind is strong, & my zeal great to see somewhat acted against the *Papists* in matters of *Forgery* and *Corruption*, which are matters of fact, whereto my Studies have always aim'd, & shall during life (if God will.) I find infinite corruptions in the *Fathers* Works, especially of the *Roman* Print: in the *Canon Law* & *Decretals* I can convince them of shameless forgeries by the Parchments. But that which hath amazed or amused the world, & made it turn, or continue *Popish*, hath been the want of Censurers of the *Fathers* Works, which made our *Magdeburgians* & some of our best learn'd, to lance the Fathers, & not to spare them, whereas they are but Pseudo-Fathers indeed. But the most

"For my own business I know not what to say, whether to go onward, or stay. *Guil. de S. Amore* is transcribed, and wants but the three Books from your Lordship, whereof Mr. Calendrine hath given me good hopes. *Wickleph de Veritate* is the better part done; I have hitherto laid out the Money, but my Purse will hold out no longer to defray the Charges. If it would be so, that I may receive the Money to recompense their pains, I would not doubt before the next Session, but to have most of *Wickleph's* Works transcribed; but I fail in the burden, and refer all to God's Providence and your Lordship's Direction, being not idle in these Businesses."

And again to the same learned Prelate, complaining of the want of support which he had met with, he observes: —

"I have laboured ever since in the common business, as your Lordship shall perceive by an humble Supplication printed, which your Lordship shall receive by Mr. Calandrine, which could I have had the happiness that it might have passed your learned Censure, would have been much more perfect, but, *ut quimus aut quando, non ut volumus.* I have done it as advisedly as I could, and doubt not to give every man good satisfaction in good time. If our Friends at *Cambridge* will joyn with us, the Work may be well atchieved within half the time; they taking half the Points mentioned, and they both sending to us their Observations to be revised by us, we ours to them to be revised by them, that it may be the work jointly of both Universities. My Zeal and Knowledge cannot match Dr. Ward's, yet I will endeavour to do my best. I desire to have my Service remembered to my Lord of Ely. I have upon a Letter of your Lordship's imployed some in transcribing *Guil. de S. Amore*, not that which your Lordship sent, but another greater and fuller work; that is done, and a great deal besides. More had been, if we had not been compelled, for want of Money, to have surceased: and my poor means would not serve to supply wants, and I am indebted for that

I find wonderful need of a second review. I have sent you a Proof of some few Differences from both the printed Copies, whereby you may perceive, how this Book & sundry others have been tossed & tumbled by ignorant men, what & how great mistakes, & need of a diligent review, for this is but lapping. I do send you up also in thankfulness for Dr. Goad's project, a fancy of mine, which I pray you to impart to the good Bishop; if he give any liking to it, let it go forward, if otherwise, let it be remanded, it is both fesible & possible in my judgment. If *Cambridge* will set up, or set forward the like, I dare undertake more good to be done for the profit of Learning and true Religion, than by building ten Colleges. I have of late given myself to the reading only of Manuscripts, & in them I find so many, & so pregnant Testimonies either fully for our Religion, or against the *Papists*, that it is to be wondered at; Religion of *Papists* then & now, do not agree. How many private men out of their Devotion would singly be able to found such a College, much more jointly considered, but I leave all to God's Providence; it shall suffice, & be a great comfort to me if this cannot be effected, that by my Lord of Canterbury's Letters (which I have long'd for) we may have a *quasi* College, & the whole benefit of that which is expected in Dr. Goad's refin'd Project. I myself, by my intreaty, have set twenty or thirty a-work; how may the Lord Archbishop command our Heads of Houses, & they their Company, or at least, one out of a College or Hall. I have or shall receive this week three quire of Paper of my Workmen, for which, as they finish the quire, I lay out the money, 20s. for each quire: of *Gu. de S. Amore* I have received one quire; and so of *Wickleph περι αληθειας*, which is harder to read, & the other in English of *Wickleph's* I look for this day. *Platina* is almost done, *Alphonsus à Castro* respited a while, & *Cajetan* likewise, till I hear from the learned Bishop." p. 307.

In a third letter written to the Archbishop, the 27th July, 1624, he remarks: —

notedst cozenage which is rife, & most beguiling in these days, is a secret *Index Expurgatorius*, & therefore the more dangerous; that is, the reprinting of Books, not making mention of any *Castigation* or *Purgation* of them, & yet both leaving & adding, & otherwise infinitely depraving them (as is to be seen in hundreds of Books of the middle age & later writers); I instance in *Sixtus Senensis*, & *Alphonsus de Castro*, & *Antoninus Summes*. There are about five hundred bastard Treatises, & about a thousand places in the true Authors which are corrupted, that I have diligently noted, & will shortly vindicate them out of the Manuscripts, (for hitherto they be but the conjectures of the Learned.) For this purpose I have gotten together the Flower of our young Divines, who voluntarily will joyn with me in the search: some fruits of their labours (if your Lordship desires) I will send up. And might I be but so happy as to have other twelve thus bestowed; four in transcribing Orthodox Writers (whereof we have plenty) that for the substantial points have maintain'd our Religion (40 or 50£. would serve;) four to compare old Prints with the new; four other to compare the Greek Translations by the *Papists* (as *Vedelius* had done with *Ignatius*, wherein he hath been somewhat help'd by my pains); I would not doubt but to drive the *Papists* out of all their starting holes: But, alas, my Lord, I have not encouragement from our Bishops! Preferment I seek none at their hands, only 40 or 60£. per Annum for others, & their Lordships Letters to encourage others is that I seek, which being gained, the cause is gained, notwithstanding their brags in their late Books. And thus craving pardon I rest in humble service your Lordship's in all duty.

THO. JAMES."

In another letter written to a friend, dated Oxon, 23d May, 1624, he says: —

"We have fully finished the Collation of the *Opus imperfectum:* hereafter more of that matter, meantime I have taken pains for trial sake, to compare both our *Basil* & it with the MS. for our Homily:

which is done. Your Lordship by Letter (if I mistake not) undertook for my Lord of Ely's £20 per ann: had all promised been paid, I had had 20 or 30 quire in readiness; that which I have shall be fitted against the Parliament, in the exactest manner that it can be done for the Press."

We conclude our extracts from the correspondence of Dr. James with quotations from two other letters to Archbishop Usher, on the same subject of this great design, and the want of encouragement which he found from the dignitaries of the Church and others in power. In the first of these he says:—

"I am encouraged by your Lordship's Letters to go on chearfully in my intended course and discovery, *solus aut quomodo?* What is one man able to resist when so many oppose so falsely and so impudently? I have written to his Grace by his Chaplains for helps necessary for forwarding so great a work, as *the Visibility and perpetual Succession of the Church.* There shall come nothing forth till I have viewed by myself, or others, under a publick Notaries hands, all the Testimonies that do result out of the Manuscripts, and printed Books of Papists: But what can I poor weak man do, unless my Lord of Canterbury command help, and command Books and all things necessary to so great and requisite a work? which being well done, will serve to close up the mouths of our deceived Papists. This Question (if I conceive aright) is set afoot politickly by our adversaries the Papists, by especial advice from Rome; for it is plausible amongst the people and vulgar sort, and impossible to be answered by every one; but be it as it may, I have willingly offered to answer one *Smith* a *Lincolnshire* man, who insults upon us in the close of his Book in these words: *And if now they endeavour to answer them* [his reasons] *it will yet more appear that they can no way answer*

them, and that this kind of dealing with Protestants [in matters of fact] *out of their own Confessions is the fittest to stop all mouths.* Upon occasion of these words, I will make bold to write somewhat concerning this matter, both to divert our *Papists* to other matters of fact, wherein they have hitherto declined the Question about the Controversie of their Bibles (I mean of *Sixtus* and *Clemens*) impossible to be answered. I have heard their best reasons about the number of the bastard Treatises, which, as false Writers, have put them into possession of their false Religion, which amount unto five hundred, reckoning none but such as are both condemned by some, and urged by others as learned *Papists*, touching the corrupting of all Authors, and Records in all ages, both in their several *Indices Expurgatorii*, and without, especially of their *Decretals* and *Gratian*, wherein the Soul and Life of Popery consists. . . . . I mean to spend this next week wholly upon this argument of *Popish Frauds*, and to send up my abortive Labours to be submitted to your Lordship's grave judgment. I deal in matters of Fact, and have little help God knoweth. I will empty myself to your Lordship. For *Marianus Scotus*, God knows, if I had compared it, one of the first Books, and both that and *Matthew* of *Paris*, yea and *Bede's* History must be compared, or vain will be our Labour in writing of the *Visibility of the Church*, when we shall rely upon such sandy Proofs. It is too true that *Posserin* observeth, that there are whole Pages thrust into *Marianus's* Works; he saith by *Hereticks:* he lieth like a Varlet; the *cui bono* will show us that. . . . . Not only the *Rabbins*, but the *Thalmud*, in six Volumes at *Rome*, hath felt the smart of the *Popish Indices*, would God we were but half as diligent to restore as they abolish and put out the Truth. I have restored 300 Citations, and rescued them from Corruption in thirty quire of Paper: Mr. *Briggs* will satisfy you on this Point, and sundry other Projects of mine, if they miscarry not for want of maintenance; it would deserve a Prince's Purse. If I was in *Germany*, the *Estates* would defray all

Charges; cannot our *Estates* supply what is wanting? If every Church-man that hath an £100 *per Annum* and upward will lay down but a shilling for every hundred towards these publick works, I will undertake the reprinting of the Fathers and setting forth of five or six Volumes of Orthodox Writers, comparing of Books printed with printed, or written; collating of Popish Translations in Greek, and generally whosoever shall concern Books, or the Purity of them, I will take upon me to be a *Magister S. Palatii* in *England*, if I shall be thereunto lawfully required. Oxon, Feb. 15, 1624–5."

In the other letter to the same prelate he writes:—

"May it please your Grace to pardon my long silence and neglect of writing, according to my duty, occasioned partly by Sickness, partly by Discontent and Discouragement from our great ones: But being now freed from both (God be thanked) I address myself wholly to the care of the Publick, long since by me intended. Wherein now, more than ever, I must be bold to crave your Lordship's furtherance, that as it had its first beginnings from your Grace, so it may its final end, and a fulfilling by your Lordship's good means. It is true my Lord of *Litchfield* is intrusted with the whole directions and managing of this business: but had your Grace been near, there would have been none more able nor willing than your Grace. I do therefore most humbly intreat your Lordship, that sometime before your Grace's departure into *Ireland*, you would be pleased, upon conference with my Lord of *Litchfield*, to settle the whole business, what Authors we shall begin with, in what order, and after what manner. As for the Canon Law, which I have looked into, not without the vocation and approbation of Mr. *Vice-Chancellor*; I must confess my forwardness therein, upon a supposal of sundry additions unto *Gratian*: and my Fellow-labourers are as earnest as myself upon that little which we have hitherto found. Doubtless *Gratian* was

one of the first Compilers of the Popish Religion, in his hotch-potch of the Canon Law; but yet he is not so bad as he is made, the corruptions are of a later date, and came in long since his time. I have given a taste as of all that I have hitherto done, in certain rude Papers, overhastily perhaps sent up to pass your Lordships censure and judgement; and from thence to the Press, that I may have a taste to present unto my Lord the Bishops and others, that have already promised their helps. If this of almost an hundred places corrupted in point of Religion (not taking all upon an exact survey, but a few to give proof of the faisibility of the Work to the common profit of the Church) shall be thought fit to be printed, and an hundred places of flat contradiction, Men if ever will be stirred up to advance this Work; for the doing whereof, with some jeopardy of my Health, and loss of all worldly Preferment, I am most willing to be imployed to the uttermost of my simple Endeavours, having nothing to promise but Fidelity and Industry. Good, my Lord, what can be done by your Grace, let it be done to the uttermost; the work is in a manner yours; to God be the Glory; and if the Church of England receive not as much profit by this one Work being well done, as by anything since Erasmus's time, I will never look hereafter to be credited of your Grace, or any Man else. But to the well-doing and perfection of this Work, two things are requisite;

"First, That the Fathers' Works, in Latin, be reprinted, (the *Vindiciæ* will not serve) wherein I desire to have three or four able Doctors or Batchelors of Divinity, to be my Assistants in framing the Annotations.

"Secondly, That there be provision either in Parliament or out, that the Copies may be sent from any Cathedral Church or Colledg, upon a sufficient Caution, *non obstante statuto*; both these being granted, as at your Lordship's instance they may be, I doubt not of a most happy success of the whole Business. Which, that I may not be too troublesome to your Grace, I commend unto the protection

of the Almighty, praying for your Lordship's health and happiness, and resting as I am in all Bands of Duty and Service. Oxon, 27 Feb. 1625.

"Your Grace's
in all Duty,
THO. JAMES.

We have selected these extracts as reflecting in an eminent degree the literary energy of Dr. James, and the earnestness which pervaded all his learned labours; and viewed in this light, we feel assured that our readers will not regard them as improper adjuncts to his biography.

In this (1624) and the two following years, James published several other works, relating chiefly, to the same subjects with which his former ones were occupied. Their titles may be seen in Wood's *Ath. Oxon.*, vol. ii. p. 466. One of these, however, "His humble and earnest Request to the Church of England for, and in the behalf of, Books touching Religion," printed on one sheet, in oct°, 1625, is too important to be passed over in silence. It was shortly followed by an "Explanation, or Enlarging of the Ten Articles in his Supplication lately exhibited to the Clergy of England for the restoring to Integrity Authors corrupted by Papists." Oxon. 1625, 4to. It appears that in the first year of Charles I., 1625, when a Parliament was held at Oxford, a Convocation of the Clergy, of which James was a member, took place at the same time; in which, in his anxiety to complete an entire collation of early and important theological MSS, especially those which bore reference to the disputed point. between Catholics and Protestants, he submitted a plan, that

efficient Commissioners should be appointed for the purpose of collating the MSS. of the Fathers in all the Libraries of England with the foreign Popish editions, in order that the forgeries in the latter might be detected, and the views of the Roman Catholics in making interpolations, defeated. Unfortunately this bold project did not meet with that support and encouragement, either from convocation or from individuals, which James had anticipated; but it is impossible not to admire the zeal and energy which could at once plan such an undertaking, and at the same time provide intelligible methods for its successful execution. So fully persuaded, however, was he of the great benefits which would be derived from it, both to the interests of the Protestant religion, and to learning in general, that, arduous as the task was, he determined to set about the execution of it himself, and successfully laboured in it for some time, as appears from several of his works published about this period.

But the design proved too arduous an undertaking for one individual, and the labour of it too great for James's physical powers; so that, overwhelmed with poverty and sickness, he at length sunk under his self-imposed task. Worn out by his exertions, weak in body, and over worked by study and application, he lived not to complete this great design, but was removed by the stroke of death, to the infinite regret of the learned world. He died at his house in Holywell, Oxford, in the month of August, 1629, in the 59th year of his age, and was buried towards the upper end of New College Chapel. We are told by Ant. Wood, that he was "so

well versed in several faculties that he was esteemed by some a living library," and that he left behind him the character of being "the most industrious and indefatigable writer against the Papists who had been educated at Oxford since the Reformation."

It is somewhat remarkable that no notice has been taken by Wood, or any of the biographers of Dr. James, of his having married, and had a large family. Yet that such was the case we know from several sources; and it also evidently appears from the following letter, written by him to his friend Sir Robert Cotton, and preserved in the Cottonian Collection, Julius C. III. f 183: —

"Good S^r^ Robert, after my heartiest Coñendations, understanding by my good friend M^r^ Thomlinson, how both you, he, and others of my good friends have beene extraordinarily mooved to petition my Lorde of Canterburie on y^e^ behalf of my poore wyfe and children, I cannot but acknowledge y^e^ duetie of thankes, and w^th^ all that I am as I hope ever shall be wholy yours, and when God shall take me away (as long I cannot have y^e^ benefitt of this worlde) I shall leave a wyfe and seaven children w^ch^ shall honour y^e^ memorie and pray for y^e^ health of S^r^ Rob. Cotton and all his. So praying y^e^ continuance of your favour and not ceasing my daylie prayers for you
on 11^o^ Aug. 1628

"I rest
"Yours in all love and duetie
"Tho. James."

Matrimony is mentioned as the only point on which he and his friend and patron Sir Thomas Bodley differed, who regarded James with a most perfect and sincere affection,

but would not at all yield to this inclination for matrimony in him, which he held absurd, and as opening a gap to disorder hereafter. There are several allusions to this subject in the letters of Bodley in the *Reliq. Bodl.*, but always with evident dislike and repugnance to such a proceeding on the part of his Librarian, and as contrary to the rules he had laid down for the conduct of that officer. On every other subject there was a perfect agreement between the two friends, which seems never to have been broken or impaired. James, however, in spite of the remonstrances of his patron, as might be expected, married; but we are unable to state the name of the lady for whose sake he was thus boldly and contumaciously disobedient. She survived her husband; for on the 14th of November, 1629, "Anne James the widdowe of Thomas James D^r^ of divinity of the university of Oxon lately deceased," executed a joint bond with Patrick Breise, gentleman, to the amount of £300, for the due administration of her husband's effects. Of these there is an Inventory, dated November 9, 1629, in which the several rooms are mentioned. The following items occur in the "dyninge Roome."

"It. a drawinge table ..... xxx^s^
It. chaires and stooles ..... ij^li^ ij^s^ vi^ds^
It. cushions carpet and cupboard cloth ... xxxv^s^
It. a paire of virginalls ..... xx^s^
It. brasse andirons w^th^ fire shoule and tonges xxx^s^
It. pictures w^th^ other lumber ..... x^s^"

He seems to have slept in his study from the Items contained in it, *e. g.*

"In the Studdie.

It. bedsteed w^th curteines and rodds and other lumber ..... xxx^s
It. beddinge ..... v^li
It. bookes ..... xl^li"

We may add that his plate was valued at ..... xxxv^li
His ready money and debts were..... xliv^li
And his wearing apparel was worth ..... xiij^li vi^s viij^d
The total valuation amounted to £219 1s. 10d.

It appears that so late as 1655 some of Dr. James's property was still not administered to, and it is not unlikely that the immediate cause of another administration in that year was to make a legal title to the house in Holywell, which was probably leasehold, as most of the houses there still are, held under Merton College for a term of years, renewable at stated periods on the payment of a fine. In that year Thomas Jones of Wood Eaton, in the county of Oxford, Clerk, with another, gives a bond for threescore Pounds, the condition of which is, "That if James Jones the naturall and lawfull sonne of Anne Jones alias James deceased, whiles she lived the naturall and lawfull daughter of Thomas James whilest he lived of the University of Oxford D^r in divinity deceased intestate and administrator of all and singular the goods chattells and creditts of him the said D^r James not yet administered by Anne James deceased, whilest she lived the Relict and Administratrix of all and singular the goods chattells and creditts of the said D^r Thomas James deceased, doe well and truly administer," &c. &c.

It is probable that we here come to the last of this branch

of the family, Anne James, daughter of Dr. Thomas James and Anne his wife, who married the Rev. Thomas Jones, of Wood Eaton, in the county of Oxford, and had issue James Jones, who in 1655 administered to his grandfather's remaining effects.

There is a very good Portrait of Dr. James in the Bodleian Library. He has a handsome cheerful countenance, and wears a bushy beard, and is represented in a gown, with a ruff and small white ruffles; in his right hand a pair of gloves, in his left a small book, shut; on his head a four cornered square cap.

Dr. James had an elder brother, Edward, the fourth son of Richard James and Jane Ammernon his wife, who was born in 1570, educated at Westminster School, and elected from thence to Christ Church, Oxford, as Student, in 1587, having matriculated, December 15, 1587, as "Hamptonensis pleb. filius." He proceeded to his degree of B.A. June 9, 1591, and M.A. May 11, 1593. And soon after entering into holy orders, on the 8th January, 1604, he was instituted to the Rectory of Freshwater, in the Isle of Wight, on the presentation of Lord Chancellor Egerton, on the recommendation of Lord Baron Fleming. In 1614 he became Canon of Christ Church, and on the 16th May in that year was admitted to the degree of D.D. along with his brother Thomas. He was also an eminent scholar, and a constant contributor of verses to some of the poetical collections which members of the University were frequently accustomed to produce on occasions of public interest. Amongst others of this kind there are verses of his in "Oxoniensis Academiæ Funebre

Officium in memoriam honoratissimam serenissimæ et beatissimæ Elizabethæ." 4to, Oxon, 1603. There are several learned Epistles still extant, addressed to him by his nephew Richard James, who also wrote the following Epitaph on his death, which happened in 1616, some years before that of his brother Thomas. It would seem from these lines that the stone was the complaint of which he died.

"In mortem optimi Avunculi Doctoris
Edoardi James, nepotis carmen funebre.

Visceribus fecere tuis quid saxa petrarum?
Conveniens crustis non fuit iste locus
Durũ equidem genus est hominũ et crudele, quibusq,
Cepit saxorum fabula prisca fidem
Hic capite hospitiũ lapides, tententur acutè
Horum hominũ saxis ilia dura magis,
Has, licet, in sedes, pulchro migrate colonï
Ordine; quis fatum hoc vidit et erubuit?
Hic rupices crustas, vivoq, sedilia saxo
Absq, omni tutum est extruere invidia.
Verum non vestrâ patruus ab origine crevit
Esset in affini ut corpore juris idem.
Illi mens humana et carne induta, nec unquam
In lapidem excoxit fervida avaritia
Aut misera ambitio, aut vindictæ dira libido
Impiger aut maribus qui furor ardet equis.
Udum et molle lutum, atq, Deũ testante figura
Vixit inequales difficilesq, dies.
O quam multa Dei sanctis fulgebat imago
Moribus et viva pectoris effigie:
Egestos nudosq, lares spectare benignè,
Et bona pauperibus spargere moris erat

More probo et quali veterū vixere parentes
Felices vetuit quos pia fama mori.
Mortalis præsensq, Deus mihi quæritur, author
Quippe mihi vitæ non pereuntis erat
Communis generi vindex, ego funere in isto
Intus justa patri rursus ago lacrymis.
Si vultus similes rides in pectore gestus
Amissas rursus defleo nudus opes
Quod veris querimur lacrymis, et desine carmen
Ut doleam tacito depereamq, sinu.
Livor pinge diem nigro carbone vel horam
Qua vixit soli providus ille sibi
Ergo sidereus jam vivit maior imago.
Hâc mercede placent vel tua saxa mihi."

The will of Dr. Edward James is dated 26th January, 1616, and was proved in the University Court, February 4th, 1616, by the Executor, Andrew James. In it he bequeaths all his "gooddes implements and household stuffe in his Lodging at Christ Church (saving his bookes sylver tankard and money) to Anne James his God-daughter being daughter to his brother Thomas James D.D. All his books to Tho. James his brother. He gives all the goods and chattels at or in his parsonage of Freshwater in the Isle of Wight to his brother Andrew James, Gent., who is to pay yearly out of the same £10 unto Richard James of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, M.A., his nephew, as also £5 to his servant W^{m} North, giving his Ex^{or} leave to mend or augment this legacy according to his discretion and kindness. To his cousin Walter James he gives his seal ring, and to his wife the Silver Tankard at his Lodging at Christ Church. He gives

all his ready money at or in his Lodging or elsewhere in Oxford, or due to him in Oxford or the County of Oxford, to his loving brother and sister Thomas James above mentioned and Anne his wife. All his other goods and chattels, moveable and unmoveable, (his funeral discharged,) he bequeaths unto his loving brother Andrew James, whom he appoints Executor, appointing Thomas James the Overseer of his will."

Among the other members of this remarkable family who were distinguished for their learning, talents, and classical taste, we ought not to omit the name of Francis James. He was the eldest of the three sons of James James by Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Stephen Copley. This James James was the eldest son of Richard James and Jane Annernon, and brother of Dr. Thomas James, whose memoir we have previously given. Francis James, a native of the Isle of Wight, was probably educated at the Grammar School at Newport with his cousin Richard, and was afterwards sent to Christ Church College in the University of Oxford, matriculated November 24, 1598, where he was admitted to the degree of B.A. June 25, 1602, and soon afterwards took holy orders. He is recorded by Ant. Wood to have been in great esteem for several pieces of Latin poetry which he had written, and especially for a poem which he published in 1612, entitled, "Threnodia Henricianarum Exequiarum, sive Panolethria Anglicana et Apotheosis Henrici Ducis Glocestrensis maximæ spei, paternæ fraternæque indolis, prene verticante florescentis ætatis meridie præmaturo fato, non sine communi Philo-basilicorum omnium Regioque stemmati addictissimorum singultiente suspirio terris erepti."

There is a copy of this poem in the Ashmolean Collection among Wood's Books, No. 429. 1. It is a broad sheet with no date, but Wood, with his usual attention to minute facts, has given the date above mentioned. It consists of ninety lines; and as the piece is extremely rare, if not unique, and was much esteemed at the period when it was written, we quote a few lines from its commencement and conclusion.

"Qui sic ante pilos cadit invictissimus heros
Morte virescentes anticipante dies,
Cujus virtutes nullus numerabit arithmus,
Herculeus fuerit quem superare labor.
Gallos, Hispanos, Germanos, atque remissos
Expertus, sed quos noverat ante, Scotos.
Quem reducem exilio Tellus suscepit ab acri
Nec gremio tamen hæc fovit amica diu,
Qui patrem vultu, qui nobilitate decoris
Matrem et utrumque suo qui referebat avum,
Hospite quo cœli peramabilis aula superbit,
Dum queritur tellus quod caruisse queat,
En hic Henricus! quo non præstantior alter,
Nec magis Anglorum vel pietatis amans.

* * * * * *

I, rue, Sydereas (Dux magne) libenter in aulas
Cognatos scandas æthereosque polos,
Utque olim Alcides fumanti ascendit ab Æta
Sanguinis effluvio, Tuque cruore tuo:
En ibi purpureo evecto super æthera curru
Splendida Cæsarei fulget imago patris.
Fulget Avus, præfulget [1]Avunculus, [2]Annaque mater
Annaque, ceu fulgens Cassiopæa, soror

[1] Henricus Princeps. [2] Henrici Principis Walliæ.

Tu Caroli magnum moderere in sæcula plaustrum.
Vis Philobasilicos cœlitus acta regat.
Stabit in occiduæ Genio vegetabile famæ
Nomen prolificæ posteritatis honos
Gestiit haud unquam tumulo meliore[1] Sacellum.
Jactat enim cineres urna sacrata tuos.
Cum cœlum ascendas, quid jam deflebimus ultra?
Quin pro Rege pio, votaque Fratre damus.

F. James, S.T.B. Oxon."

Perhaps the great rarity of this piece would have sanctioned, in the opinion of some readers, the publication of the whole of it, but we believe what we have now given will generally be considered sufficient. Like most other literary compositions, its merit must be judged, in a great measure, by the time and circumstances under which it was written; and it must be admitted that Latin poetry, of this age, possesses but few charms even for the most enthusiastic lovers of that language. However this may be, we feel no hesitation in asserting that the merit of the verses themselves is unquestionable; possessed, in truth, of an average degree, when placed in comparison with the other pieces which were composed upon the same occasion. So numerous were the writers of this class of compositions, that a casual glance at any collection would enable us at once to ascertain how often the most wretched doggrel was admitted into place; and, viewed by these criteria, the verses we have here quoted are deserving of praise. Francis James was also a contributor to the University collection of tristful poems on the

[1] Hen: VII. ubi sepultus est.

death of Queen Elizabeth, in which appear the following Verses by him: —

"In obitum Reginæ Elizabethæ.

Unâ te linguâ natura ornavit Eliza
Ars tibi multiplices ingeniosa dedit,
Anglâ etenim, Hispanâ, Gallâ, Græcâ, atque Latinâ,
Italicâque, animi sensa referre soles.
Sed tibi mors linguas crudelis præscidit omnes,
Et modò (proh lacrymæ) mortua, muta jaces.
Quid flemus? linguis nec tu defuncta carebis,
Cunctorum linguæ te pia virgo canent.

In linguis hominum post mortem vivis Eliza,
Semper et Anglorum *cordibus* ima sedes.
Talesne exequiæ tibi persolvuntur *inanes?*
Sic tua sunt *vanis* funera ducta modis?
Haud equidem: Melius nullum quam *lingua* feretrum
Quæ vitæ laudes mortis honore *ferat*.
Marmore nec melius, vel *eburna* sede reposta,
Quam fixa in nostris *cordibus* esse potes.
Ergo tuæ sic exequiæ celebrantur Elizæ:
Ora feretra tibi, *corda* sepulchra tibi.

Franciscus James, ex Œde Christi."

On the 9th July, 1612, he was admitted to the degree of Bachelor in Divinity, and in 1614 he is mentioned by Wood as having "stood in the Act that year to complete his degree of Doctor in Divinity, but when he was admitted, it appears not in the public register." He was about this period Preacher or Reader at the Savoy Church in the Strand, London, and had also, as it appears, the living of St. Matthew's Church in Friday Street, Cheapside, 11th June, 1616.

His health at length giving way, he died in 1621, and according to Wood, was buried at Ewhurst in Surrey.—See Wood's *Fasti.*, vol. i. p. 359.

His youngest brother, Daniel James, was of Merton College, Oxford, and wrote some Latin verses in the same Volume. He appears to have been possessed of the same fondness for classical pursuits as the rest of his family; but we are unacquainted with the future events of his life, only that he died intestate in 1612, his brother Thomas James administering to his effects, 30th April, 1612.

RICHARD JAMES, the author of the *Iter Lancastrense*, and the nephew of Dr. Thomas James, was the third son of Andrew James, of Newport, in the Isle of Wight, Gent., (third son of Richard James and Jane Annernon before mentioned,) and Dorothy, his wife, daughter of Philip Poore, of Durington, in the County of Wilts. As usual in the biography of men of this period, few facts connected with the history of his early life can be procured. The little that is known can thus be concisely stated, the dates in some few instances being merely approximations. He was born at Newport, in the Isle of Wight, about the year 1592, and after receiving the rudiments of his education at the Grammar School in that town, entered at an early age as a Commoner of Exeter College, Oxford, which he quitted for a Scholarship at Corpus Christi College, in the same University, the 23d September, 1608, when he was about 16. He was admitted to the degree of B.A. in 1611, and of M.A. January 24, 1614, 12 Jac. I., and on the 30th September in

the following year was made a probationer fellow of his College.

About this period we find him addressing his attention to the abstruser points of theological learning, a taste which led him to enter into holy orders, and at an early age we know from the biographer of the University, Anthony Wood, that he frequently preached before that learned body, with, however, only partial success, for he seems to have been too deeply wrapped up in learning and research for his discourses to have received approbation from any "excepting the graver members." It is fair to assume from this circumstance, that he was almost a precocious proficient in theological learning.

In 1618, his ardent thirst for knowledge and improvement induced him to travel not only through parts of his own country in Wales and Scotland, but to extend his visits to more distant climes, to Shetland, Greenland, and Russia. It is deeply to be regretted that the observations made by him in these journeys, especially on the latter country, which he had intended to have transcribed and enlarged with a view to publication, should have been lost to the world; but we fear there is little probability of their ever being forthcoming. The varied extent of his knowledge would probably have furnished us with information on subjects now altogether irrecoverable. These "Observations" are mentioned in the list of James's MSS. printed in Bernard's Catalogue, p. 263; but the Editor finds on inquiry that they never came to the Bodleian Library with the others, and being written on loose sheets, were probably lost or destroyed before that time. In the absence of these he can only present his readers

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with the following copy of Verses by James, who it appears had, from his long absence abroad, been supposed by some of his friends to have been dead.

"To Mr Anthony White whoe had made an elegye on my supposed death in Rusland.

"Those piteous rimes, in which you did lament
My death's reporte with courteous intent
I much desire to see, and with theise fiew
Suddaine unmeasur'd lines request a view.
'Tis kindely now to tell your friend he must
Hide all his thoughts and purposes in duste;
Duste, element of Nature, where ev'rie thing
At last is nothing more, nor prince nor king:
Imaginations cease, in which I
Am sometimes greater than a Sultanie
To frollicke with my friends, or but to tell
By a great refusall, that not all is well
With men of greatest state. O how I dreame
To shewe you that I live, and beg a theme
Of death, whose teeth I must sommetimes abide,
With all ye sequele and encreasing tide
Of men; whose joints and bones although she crust,
She well digests our cares, and therefore trust
With silent mirth and confidence I made
Haste to ye portail of her grumbling shade;
Yet turn'd againe, when on ye doares I red
My dayes of life were not yet perfited.
Well could I please to die: but never please
Long at those doares staye courting grim disease,
Death's porter: no where could I spie

The day and houre of my mortalitie.
Friendly be heere my watchman with y^t^ verse
Which should have binne summe honour to my herse,
That in disprize of death a quiek desire
May keepe my soule still readie to aspire."

The following Latin lines are also impromptu effusions of his pen, whilst he was pursuing his travels in Russia: —

"In Delphinum[1] insigne
Jamesianorum Vectensium.

"Adversæ quamvis lacerum fecere procellæ
Et maris imperio concutiente feror
Demersæ ex plebis numero Delphinus in auras
Me levat et pedà per fervida scindit iter
Non ventosa adeo est gens nostra ut imagine macrâ
Delphini et picta se efferat effigie
Dicit amatores per hominum nos piscis, in isto
Omine nec syrtes nec fera saxa queror
Qua te, purus amor, venerer pietate, tot inter
Æstus qui fractam non sinis esse ratem
Misceat atq, novos moveat vesana tumultus
Relligio; cœlum non ruit, huic fidei.
Hæc subitus scripsi in libro lemmatum
Isaaci Massæ legati ad Moscos pro
Illustrissimis ordinibus Belgiæ in
urbe Vraslaviæ An. Dom. 1618."

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[1] This is in allusion to the arms borne by the family of James, which were Vert, a dolphin, naiant.

"De Cometa quæ apparuit iuxta ursam maiorem Ann. Dni. 1618. per spatium mensis in Decembri et Novembri, quam vidimus in Varislavia Rushenorum."

"Tunc cum Sarmatici cœperunt fœdera pacis
Frustrati Gallo milite ne caperent
Vix, Michaele, tibi steterint quæ mœnia, fallax
In quibus haud tantum mobile vulgus erat.
Emicuit septem inter circumgestata triones
Promittens longam dira cometa facem,
Nos quod portentum flammæ quæsivimus acri
Suspicione omnes quisq; sibi metuens.
Anglis ipse timens, ne forsitan invidiosa
Si foret occasu, magne Jacobe, tuo
Extimui et ne relligio vesana furensq;
Armaret Batavos in sua fata duces.
Aut minor est forsan mundi iactura rubentis
Germani hoc sidus Cæsaris esse potest.
Plebeio at nunquam coalescit sanguine regni
Jus dubium, regum est sanguinis istud opus.
Sarmaticosq; Rushenosq; inter cœlum interituram
Pacem quod bello miscuit inde rubet."

Returning to his native country, Mr. James devoted himself with increased application and diligence to his learned studies and researches, in which he was surpassed by few men of his own time. Of his extraordinary talent and facility in acquiring a knowledge of languages, and the intense ardour with which he had pursued his literary studies in his early youth, some idea may be formed from a letter written

by his Uncle, Dr. Thomas James, to Archbishop Usher, in 1623, who was then Bishop of Meath, and published in Parr's life of that Prelate, p. 303. In this letter Dr. James says: —

"I have traced the steps afar off about *The Succession and Visibility of the Church*, wherein your Lordship hath gone a far journey. I do but glean where you have reaped a plentiful harvest. Nevertheless if my poor and weak labours may any ways stead your Lordship, I would be glad to contribute my pains. . . . . I have collected as much as I can find in all likely Authors to this purpose printed; and out of sundry Manuscripts, as Gascoigne, Canter, Mapes, P. de Vineis, Becket, Sarisburiensis, which have been diligently read over by a learned Kinsman of mine, who is at this present by my direction, writing Becket's Life; wherein it shall be plainly shewed, both out of his own writings and those of his time, that he was not (as he is esteemed) an Arch-Saint, but an Arch-Rebel; and that the Papists have been not a little deceived in him. This Kinsman of mine, as well as myself, shall be right glad to do any service to your Lordship in this kind. He is of strength, and well both able and learned to effectuate somewhat in this kind; critically seen both in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, knowing well the languages both French, Spanish, and Italian, immense and beyond all other men, especially in reading of the Manuscripts of an extraordinary style in penning, such a one as I dare ballance with any Priest or Jesuit in the world of his age, and such a one as I could wish your Lordship had about you; but *paupertas inimica bona est moribus*, and both fatherless and motherless, and almost, (but for myself,) I may say (the more is the pity) friendless."—*From Oxford, 28th Jan.* 1623.

The deep interest and almost parental anxiety which the writer of this letter took in the studies and advancement of

his nephew is evidenced from several letters written about the same period to the above mentioned learned Prelate, a short extract or two from which we proceed to quote: —

"Of my Cousin Mr. Rich. James (who remembereth himself most dutifully to your Lordship) I send a Taste or Essay of what may be done by him. I will say no more of him or it but this; That I know no man living more fit to be employed by your Lordship in this kind than himself; his Pains incredible, and his Zeal as great, and his Judgment in manuscripts such as I doubt not but your Lordship may use to the great benefit of the Church, and ease of your Lordship; may there be but some course taken that he may have *victum et restitum* independant from any one. This if he may have from your Lordship, or by your Lordship's means, I know his deserts and willingness to deserve well of the Church." — *Oxon the 27th July*, 1624.

Again: —

"My Cousin Rich. James desireth to have his Duty remembered to your Lordship, he hath reviewed and inlarged his Book of *Bochel's Decanonization*, a Book so nearly concerning Kingly Dignity, and so fully opening the History of those times, that I know not where a man shall read the like. I would he might have the happiness that your Lordship might see it, being now fair transcribed, that it might pass your Lordship's censure before it pass any further. And I am persuaded (over-weaning perhaps in love to my Cousin) that if his Majesty saw it, it would please him, having so many good pieces of antiquity in it; — it is his, and shall be my cheifest study. — *Oxon.*, *Feb.* 8. n. y.

From these deeper and severer studies, James sometimes turned to unbend himself in the more flowery paths of

the muses, and tried to disport himself in poetical addresses to the fairer sex. One in particular, under the poetical name of Albina, appears to have gained entire possession of his heart. But "the course of true love never did run smooth," — and whether it was that the lady took fright at the "res augusta domi" of her lover, or that his devotion to his studies unfitted him for the lighter charms and society of the other sex — or that his lady love preferred the wooing of a less learned and pedantic, but more richly endowed swain, it is certain that he was not fortunate in his association with the gentler sex, and died in a state of celibacy. Among his addresses to the fair Albina contained in the MS. before alluded to, we quote the following as a pleasing specimen of the lighter effusions of his muse.

To Albina.

Dearest *Albina*, my desire
Full readie were to kindle fire,
And make a taper kindely flame
To *Hymens* honour, with your name.
But love that heates ye sunne, againe
Me cooles with gentle feare of paine
To you encreasing, since my starres
As yours with fortune are at warres.
Shall we then joyne and surfett chance
With our united sufferance?
Or shall we in a purer fire
Of admiration and desire
Still burne like *Laura* and his bayes
Whose virgin greennesse to our dayes

Fresh live: Your noble spiritt is
Not hers beneath, and mine like his
From everye course of nature, winge
Should make to finde out everie thinge
Which may by arte of poesie
Well sett adorne your elogie.
Which read by princes and their Queenes
Showld us with them for happie tweens
Of love remember, when late age
Hath spent ye furie of times rage.
Summetimes in smart *Anacreons* veine
I'le arme you through ye flowrie plaine.
Springs, hills, groves, meadowes, shall reporte
To nymphs and swaines our sweete resorte.
Summetimes to please your high disdaigne
I'le strike ye mightie friend of *Spaine*
With such growne vengeance as did neere
Beate from *Alcæus* quill ye eare
Of Greeks, — then with softer number
I'le kisse you into easie slumber
Shaded and husht with waving trees
And ye best harmonie that flees
Which for you to my phansie yeelds
A dreame of ye Elizian fields.
The practice of Lords ould and niew
I'le wrighte in storie strainge and triew,
Which you before best Romance shall
Preferre, then let ye satire fall.
At which embraced favour, I
Mounte with fresh courage to ye skie,
To praise and not to search ye eye
Of ye all viewing Deitie.

And dutie which to God and men
We owe, shall gently from my penne
In cleere streame of truth so glide,
As children shall and Ladies bide
In hollowes of ye banck with playe
To wash ye soyle of night and daye.
To such no sad illusions heere
Of braine-sick phansies shall apeere.
But unto tyrants and their traine
More fright shall showe than poets faine.
Nor shall a rustie canker'd file
Of usurers theise streames defile.
Yette shall theise streames with billowes roare
If malice do but neere ye shoare.
And if your goodnesse cheere me, more
I shall of antique truth restore.
At whose sight chac'd with prose and verse
Fals semblance shall her troupes disperse.
Most deere *Albina* doe not weene
You heere a peeock's pride have seene.
But for my true love spare to loose
Your self in a lesse worthy nooze.
Or as you please; for I not dare
Binde love in my sad life to share.
And to your soule wish double glorie
If twice you enter purgatorie.

It appears that the lady soon afterwards married a Mr. Philip Woodhouse, to whom, notwithstanding his disappointment, James addressed more than one copy of verses expressive of friendly feelings, and on the first occasion after

their marriage, celebrated the annual return of their wedding day by the following lines.

"An Anniversarie of Marriage to Mr. Philip Woodhouse.

Now Sir, ye sunne or earth hath circled rownd
Since you were fairely to my Mistris bownd
In holie spowsall rites. I then did praye
My blessing on you bothe. And from that daye
Till this, I heare of peace and love no breach,
Which might, if still ye custome stoode, empeach
Our journey unto *Dunmowe*, *Dunmowe* where
Was bacon for true lovers, when a yeare
And daye expired, they would comme and saye
And sweare, that neither did by night or daye
Repent their tie of love. Lett dayes and yeares
So still continue to my gentle peeres
Of love. Chaste love, love hymeneall be
Your honour, as was virginne chastitie
Mathildaes, ould *Fitzwalters* daughter, whoe
Chose rather die a Nunne than basely doe
The lustfull pleasure of a loose bent prince.
She died at *Dunmowe*. And hath bacon since
Fed in *Fitzwalter's* forests by gift beene
A sportfull prize for equall lovers seene.
But joye they in their vertue, chief reward
Unto itself in peace, though monks be bar'd
From all their wilie triumphs, toyes and japes
With which in *Chaucer* they make people apes.
Or apes. And feller beastes our selves we proove
When we forsake faire order in our love,
Faire peace, faire constancie. And lett those wills
Which disagree, goe dig downe *Mauborne* hills."

James, about this period, seems to have indulged himself frequently in short poetical compositions, epigrams, and jeux-d'-esprits, some of them addressed to his friends, others called forth by passing occurrences, or translations from some work that he was reading. And as a further illustration of his peculiar poetical talents, we print another and somewhat longer piece from the same MS., No. 33, in the Catalogue, which is also worthy of quotation from the singularity of its subject.

A translation of Lucretius or Ritterhusius in his Notes upon Isidore Pelusiota.

A world of wonder 'tis and argument
God to shewe forth all-wise and provident,
When y^e^ creation and whole world of men
Hath not two all alike of visadge, when
His livelie hand with curious arte and grace
Hath runne such descant on each mortall face,
Never y^e^ same although somme paires there be
Agreeing much in physiognomie.
To whome à man y^t^ carefull is to greete
May well misplace his morning in y^e^ streete.
Yet followe home, and easily we learne
To varie our acquaintance, and discerne
Twins different of character, and none
Fully to render their complexion,
Not if on Pegasus we sought a birth
Through all y^e^ nations of y^e^ teeming earth.
Graie eyes, black eyes have many; manywise
Noses are flat or like in longer size.

Yet more or lesse in look and feature still
We shall except sommething not paralell,
The various looks and formes of men are even
So many as ye sands or stars of heaven.
Nor may you deeme ye frames of wits and minde
To be lesse sorted in à divers kinde,
Be better heere enformd by truths defence,
Mistris of reason, sure experience.
So manye men, so manye pleasures, and
So manye vowes, wills, judgments understand.
That which is beautifull and gives delight
To one, is ugly in anothers sight.
If by men and nations we deeme vice
And vertue, surely bothe are but device.
Or if I grant it hardely that there be
Manie of like affection, in degree
And manner still they varie, ardent one,
Another calmer, and à third soone gonne
From all his purpos, uppon which a fourth
Stayes longer to enjoye and reape ye worth.
Manie please to be chaste, but not alike,
Virginitie to him is angelique,
The life of heav'nly soules, where till he goe
He straines their purer exercise belowe.
Another chaste in mariadge, and desire
To be of hopefull children aged sire;
That unto them he may, good man and kinde,
Leave sparks and flame of pietie behinde.
Another not to be unchaste, againe
Will marrie though it be his losse and paine,
Though in a former marriadge he hath
Tri'de stormes more hurling then grimme Neptunes wrath.

All juste men are not in one manner juste
Nor mercifull, nor wise, nor prudent juste
Alike, nor valiant, and more or lesse,
Men that be sober doe themselves addresse
In pleasures. Somme do rownd for honours trie,
As if in them did all true blessings lye,
Whilst others farre from waves of civill strife
Unto à meaner state compose their life.
They others knowe, love courts and concurse, theis
Onely to knowe themselves, and kindely please
A fiew discerning friends, whoe are content
With natures ease and harmeles merriment,
Knowing full well yt all is vaine and rude
Amongst ye vulgar soule and multitude
Of uncollected men, where they gett naught
But sad repentance, or à troubled thought.
And as in vertues harmonie, ye store
Of discords are in viciousnesse farre more.
Manie their livers heated have with luste,
But not alike so tainted and unjuste
And vilde in their offence, theis kindely warme
And coole againe within à maiden arme.
One in her netts is toild, whose ramping hands
Hath riven all ye trust of marriadge bands.
Another in such monstrous luste doth breake,
As modest nature blussheth ere to speake.
This man is bould against all daingers, he
Feares his own shadowe and each waving tree.
He partes à figg, rich onely to his heyre,
Poore to himself, and in all plentie bare
Of all things, whilest another spends with might
The well gott state, inheritance, and right

Of manye auncestors, as if he did
Hate his owne riches, and made haste to bid
The first adieu to fortune. Somme have ease
In flatterie, with servile words to please.
Another knottie man two Catoes sterne
Will not for any conversation turne
His stubborne course. Another feedes his eyes
On torments, bleeding wounds, and cruelties.
And somme so fainte there be, whoe scarce can heare
Or reade y^e^ tale of Troye withoutte à teare.
The swollen sownding rage of anger doth
Breake manye narrow breasts with spight uncooth,
And hot and fierce and ragefull turbulent
By reason of y^t^ fierie element.
When other airie spiritts like cold deere
Tremble each gutt and joynte with quaking feare.
Somme make their idol pleasures, honours he,
Another riches, to which all things be
Of purchas, and before whose feete fall downe
Both rev'rend mitre and y^e^ stately crowne;
Riches y^e^ price of vertue, though some strainge
Hier aspiring mindes will scorne y^e^ chainge.
Somme pine with envie, others weene to cheste
Eternall hatred in à mortall brest.
Somme love to drowne y^e^ daye in liquid feastes,
Somme love y^e^ theatre, where men like beastes
Mangle each others flesh. Somme love to heere
The noise of instruments and voyces cleere.
Somme dote on pictures, some on statues ould,
Somme are too tender fronted, somme too bould,
Strong brazen faces on which modestie
Dar'd never spread à blusshing virgin die.

One for experience like Ulysses strayes,
With much desire to learne and see what rayes
Warme forreyne landes, and them he loves to praise
Above his native soyle, for happie dayes
And pleasauntnesse of life, as if his fare
Were on ye daintye lotos everie where.
Another better joyd in home doth east
Where he first breathd, to yeeld up life at last,
To breathe no other ayre, to staye and dwell
Like lazie cockell in one lurking shell.
One robs ye high wayes, one to Erthes grief
Robs more with biting usurie worse thief.
One onely breathes and dreames of onslaughts, one
The sillie butcherd sheppe doth much bemone.
So cruell is ye one, so milde ye other.
Bellona him enrages gainst his brother,
Adds fire and sword vnto his furious arme,
And with ye thundring canon strikes alarme.
At which ye milder prince commes in to give
His countreys treasure and owne state to live
Free from ye storme of war in peace, which is
To him, ye best of things, and onely blisse
Of life, for peace he prayes, peace to procure
Gould is no valued substance, nor so pure.
And all his labours doe invite to peace,
When foule contention him deprives of ease.
One allwayes mournes to see our miserie,
Another allwayes laughs at vanitie.
Neither can any learning polish so
Two divers natures, but they ever shewe
Their elementall qualities, one will
Be sooner angrie, and another still

More slowe with feare, a third exceeding base,
Or verie meeke will suffer all disgrace.
Necessitie is on it y^t^ there should
Be shapes and manners of so divers mould.
Tis providence of which I not entend
To aske y^e^ secrett, and my verses end
For wante of names, which none may ever finde
So manye as are natures in their kinde.

On the 7th July, 1624, Mr. James was admitted to the degree of Bachelor in Divinity, and not long afterwards was employed, in conjunction with Patrick Young, the Royal Librarian, by the learned Selden, in assisting him in his examination of the ancient marbles collected by Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, and given to the University of Oxford by his Grandson Henry, Duke of Norfolk; and when Selden published his "*Marmora Arundeliana*" in 1628, 4to., he acknowledges his obligation to James in the Preface to that work, and speaks of him as "multijugæ doctrinæ studiique indefatigabilis vir Richardus Jamesius." It was about this time also, in 1625 or 1626, that our Author became intimate, through his uncle Dr. Thomas James, with Sir Robert Cotton, afterward his great friend and patron, with whom he appears to have been frequently domesticated, and to whom he was of great assistance in arranging and classifying his noble library, and in procuring books and manuscripts to enrich that collection. In furtherance of these objects, he was employed by their owner in drawing up a Catalogue of the various MSS. which he had acquired; but according to Bishop Nicholson, "being greedy of making

extracts out of the Books of our History for his own private use, he passed carelessly over a great many very valuable Volumes." In the Cottonian Library, Julius c. iii., are still preserved three letters from James to Sir Robert Cotton, which, as they are nearly the only English letters known of his, and allude to his intimacy with other learned antiquaries of the time, we quote at length. The year when they were written, is unfortunately not given.

7. Good Sr *Robert Cotton*, with the kinde furtherance of Mr *Boswells* friends I have allmost withoute drawinge bitt runne over the maine part of my businesse. Of which in good time you shall heare & see a perfect account, if you please first to lett me knowe whether Mr *Cotton* be at *London* or in the Countrie. So wisshing allwayes to be preserved in the honour of your estimation & humbly kissing the hands of you and your *Ladie* with many breef masses for your happinesse. Forsooth I rest

Your faithfull and thanckfull Servant

From Moody Hall DICK JAMES

To my noble friende Sr Robert Cotton at Westminster neere the Hall give these.

193. b. Deere Sr *Rob. Cotton*, I shall be glad to heare from you concerning my late desire & your owne kinde promise, for by our niew Masters wicked pride & practise, foret I am to seeke somme favour abroade, & at leasure to contrive my discontent into this Epigramme

Det Deus auspiciis propriis ut vivere possim
Morosophi imperiis ne crucier domini.
Det rectæ enactâ rationi lege parentem,
Ne mihi sim imperiis sevior ipse meis.

Det mortem ut vitam naturæ munus habenti
Claudat nox faciles blanda sopore dies.
Quòd si non adeo visum det fata volenti
Ferre animo et cœlum suspicere ut patriam.

and deere S^r, so soone as I may sett warme, & have satisfied myselfe in somme fewe other readings, thither I purpos à previall ascent by earnest contemplation of Astronomye till the swallowe returnes and brings a fitter season for travaill. Doctor *Tolson* whoe is the chief man with M^r *Allen* desires his service may be commended unto S^r *Kendme Digbye* & doth promise this daye to effect the legall conveyance of y^e books unto him, which the ould man promised to performe the last night at his earnest entreatie. When it is donne you shall have farther notice, & I doe assure my self of their serious intention in this parte. In owne of my journeys aboute the territorie, which to deceive time & keepe my selfe in breath I make often, in the high way beyond *Hedington* I have found lately an excellent petrified honnicombe, for which I dowbt not but *Iohn Tradescant* will most willingly exchange any of his books or coynes. So wisshing health to all bothe from my self & my *Lord Haughton* & his brother whoe kindely fownd me out in their passadge to y^e North, I rest

Your ever thanckful friend

Octob^r 25. RICH: JAMES

203. Deere S^r *Robert Cotton*, I can make no worthy exchange of your booke: Wherefore I have again paid the Carrier & sent him backe. Pray lett goodman *Gibbs* call for him on Friday morninge & returne notice of y^e safe deliverie. If you will have à faire mill shillinge, & one of the brasse peeces which were made for Quene Eliz. Irish warres I shall send them, besides M^r *Twine* hath à peece of silver of Henr: y^e sixt as it seemes, with 3 crownes on the reverse. My Cosin *Elsing's* man was yesterday in town abought his Masters

knighthood, aboute which heere is somme settinge of commissioners. Many things of antiquitie are mine in promise: if they comme, they shall soone be yours. I should gladly heare somme cheerefull niews of M^r *Selden* & S^ir *Jhon Elyott* & your selfe. Will the tide never turne? Then God send us heaven at our last end. All my friends with you I beare in thanckfull memorie & rest

Yours faithfully

Aprill 20. RICH: JAMES

To my Noble friend S^r Robert Cotton at his house by Westminster Hall give these.

In this year, 1625, he published his first work, a Latin Sermon preached before the University, entitled "Ante-Possevinus, sive Concio habita ad Clerum in Acad. Oxon. An. Dom. 1625. Authore Richardo Jamesio Socio C. C. C. Vectensi."—Oxon. 1625. 4to.—It was on 2 Tim. iv. 13, with this short Epistle prefixed:—

Ad *Librum suum.*

Cujus vis fieri libelle munus?
Festina tibi vindicem parare
Ne nigri citò stigmatis liturâ
Censuraq; gravi ambules peruncta
Damnatæ soleant quo abire chartæ:
Vel fias olidâ madens tabernâ.
Seldeni fugis in sinum? sapisti.
Exhortor monecoq; te libelle
Diserto huic placeas *Apollinari*;
Nil exactius eruditiusq;
Sed nec candidius benigniusq;
Illo vindice non timebis atros
Dentes, livida vel *Theonis* ora.

Quæ ferrugine tincta; non cachinnos
Non ronchos hominum maligniorum;
Hæc expertus ego libelle dico.
Pro me (ne metuas) jube salutem,
Quam portâ accipiet bonus patente.
Si quærit quid agam, studere dices
Post præludia velitis papyri,
Vt majori operâ placere possim.

About this time also he was much engaged on the largest and most important of his works, his "Decanonizatio Thomæ Cantuariensis et suorum.", Fol. Wood, M.S. 1. This is a regular history of Archbishop Becket, but contains also much curious matter not immediately connected with its subject. James inveighs very strongly against the vices and corruptions of the Monasteries, into which he seems to enter rather fully. There is an address at the beginning "Ad Lectorem," which commences thus:—"Amice Lector rogatus sum sæpius à venerabili quodam viro amico meo, cujus consilio et auxilio utor in re litterariâ, ut ea scriptis comprehenderem, quæ aliquando familiari sermone disseruissem de negocio Regis Henrici secundi cum Thomâ Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi. Ecce ergo eâ de re tractatum liberiorem, quam ut majori cum fructu percenseas, præfari de eâ et proposito meo paucis operæ pretium putavi," &c. The history itself ends at p. 630, in the following words:—

Atque ita Deo favente opus hoc Decanonizationis exegi:—Illi semper sit gloria. Vivat Rex noster Jacobus, vivat Carolus princeps, et si imperio nostro Brytannico intra fines juris et justitiæ se

continenti nova illa Carthago insidiabitur, illa, illa cum Papâ et Jesuitis et Puritanis destruatur.

Then follow 130 pages, containing an appendix of notes and additional matter, and the whole concludes at page 760. There is a table of contents loose in the volume in the handwriting of Thomas Greaves, D.D., who has also written the following two scraps, which are pinned in the book:—

1. Librum hunc cui titulus est Decanonizatio Thomæ Cantuariensis et suorum, composuit Ricardus Jamesius Vectensis S.S. Theologiæ Bacc. et C. C. C. Oxon. Socius, Vir integerrimus ac fide et morum probitate insignis, diffusæ eruditionis, et cui vere illud elogium trib. Seld. in Marm. Ar.

Obiit 28° Decembr 1638 ex febri quartanâ Westmonasterii in ædibus Cottonianis an. ætatis 46. et in æde D. Margaretæ Westm. sepultus est.

Scriptus hic liber post an. 1620. v. p. 100. Imo. partim post 1624. v. p. 111., et ante excessum R. Jacobi. v. p. et 630.[1]

2. Jamesi quanto plorem tua funera fletu
Hic mihi testis erit Liber, et quæ conscia flentis
Ostendit crebras lacrymarum charta lituras.

THOMAS GREAVES.

[1] The passages referred to by Greaves are the following—at p. 110:—"Immo ad rei perpetuam recordationem si quid valeant meæ chartæ, libenter et in grati animi testimonium hic repetendum censeo quod a quodam venerabili Theologiæ doctore de Jacobo nostro Rege optimo narratum acceperim. An. Dom. 1620. aiebat ille," &c.

At p. 111, speaking of the severity of monastic discipline, he says:—"Pueri se invicem percutientes, octo diebus pœniteant, si autem ætatis majoris fuerint viginti diebus pœniteant. Gratulor fortunæ meæ quod illis temporibus natus non fuerim, qui ab ineunte ætate, sic me consuetudo

The great object of James in this work, which occupied his mind and attention for some years, was to expose the corruptions and errors of the Romish Church, and especially of the monks and friars. His activity in these matters necessarily created him many enemies, and the tenour of his religious views may be described as leaning to what in our own days is generally termed Low Church, if we may be pardoned the use of a term more significative than elegant, so that Anthony Wood cannot avoid calling him, with characteristic quaintness and severity, "a severe Calvinist, if not worse."

James felt a warm attachment to his native island, and he frequently added "Vectensis" to his signature. He seems to have had an intention of writing an account of the history and antiquities of that beautiful spot, for among his MSS. in the Bodleian Library, is one entitled "Antiquitates Insulæ Vectæ," consisting of 17 pages in 4to. It is an unfinished work in Latin, and contains merely the early history of the Island till about the time of Henry II., and was probably only the foundation of a larger work

Vectanel assuevit, solitus fuerim ad discrimen nasi laceri aut sanguinei, pugnis rem experire eum sodalibus, qui etiam adhuc ponderant se, et gestiunt aliquando interpolare et tingere ora irrequietorum impudentium, adeo ut An. Dom. 1624. propterea prope coactus essem subire sententiam anathematis ab Episcopo Wintoniensi, nisi me redemisset et servâset inter alios malefactores, Regis nostri Jacobi Anglorum primi, Scotorum sexti, semper mihi memorandi iis precibus quibus inde non interdicor, parliamentaria indulgentia."

The passage from p. 630. has been quoted before.

intended to be finished at some future period with a view to publication. At the bottom of p. 5, there is introduced a long Latin Poem, occupying five pages, entitled "De visione cujusdam nobilis in Insulâ Vectâ;" chiefly on the proper name of the island, the nature of its inhabitants, &c., &c.

Another of James's MSS. No. 36, probably written about this period, contains his "Reasons concerning the attempts on the Lives of great Personages," &c. These, which are six in number, are written on ten pages folio, and commence thus:—

Sir, if you please to learne my minde concerning attempts on y^e^ lives of great personages, I shall easily say you manie reasons, why this cannot be donne with pietie & religion.

First, because in storie such actions are hatefull under the name of assassination, the originall of which untill we be more clearely enformed from the late excellent Syrian & Arabic collection of Golius, is by Jacobus de Vitriaco thus sett downe in his brief of the Jerusalem historie—'In provincia autem Phœnicis,' &c.

Secondly, because this doctrine of assassination is abhominable unto y^e^ reformed Churches & other more moderate Catholiques in y^e^ practise & assertions of Jesuites, against whom manie excellent writings are extant, & amongst them to my esteeme that one most memorable brief treatise called y^e^ Franc Discourse.

Thirdly, because the doctrine & practise of y^e^ primitive Christians is herein fully opposite, as may apeere from theis places of Tertullian in his book to Scapula Governour of Carthage, & his Apologie against the Gentiles. 'Nos quidem' &c.

Fourthly, because such violent attempts seldomme or never procure amendment, as we may see in the Roman empire:—How often

did they with Lucan seeke Libertie in the ruine of their princes, & yet were at last forced to the wonder of Tacitus, through despaire rather to fall on themselves. Neither will any man thinke that the privie bulletts which strooke the Prince of Orange twice, gaind yeither grownd or glorie to the Spanish Nation. Of which acte Grotius writes & concludes an heroique poeme in this high rapture & disdaigne.

Evenere Tagi nunquam caritura pudore
Crimina, queis nondum reperire vocabula linguæ
&c. &c. &c.

Fifthly, for manie speciall reasons concerning the discretion of attempting men which are gathered together sommewhere in Michaell Mountaines essayes, of which in absence of my book I have not now any perfect remembrance, but he that pleases maye at better leasure retrieve them in their proper place, & so receive more satisfaction.—See also Thom. Aquinas, cap. vi. de regimine principum.

Sixthly, because, as Saint James saith, the wrath of man worketh not that which is righteous before God. We ought to staye & abide his divine pleasure. In the next world potentes potenter tormenta patientur. And in this if we rightly esteeme the matter, overruling tyrannous statists goe not free of punishment internally, externally, as Langius hath most effectually conceiv'd in the second booke of Lipsius his Constancie.

For theis and many more, personages of state though they deserve ill, may not be violated mortally out of any mans religion & pietie. Yet that which is historically true, maye not be by a true man conceald. Manie nations have doctrines to preserve them, manie nations are superstitious in adoration of their persons. Yet in all nations & ages, manie of them will still miscarrie, if they be not zealous of justice, not extreme justice, but justice with mercie,

as it is in the Royal Oath of our English princes, & justice according unto reason & custome. To such justice long since the ould Hesiod invited the princes of his owne time in this long but most memorable diversion.

> Sed nunc fabulam à brutis desumptam Regibus narrabo
> quamvis ratione præditis.
> Sic accipiter afilatus est luscinium canoram
> Altè in nubibus ferens anguibus correptam:
> Illa vero miserè &c. &c.

The brief of all that herein may be truely spoken by any one is, That if princes & principalities will be safe, they must purchase the peoples love by justice, providence, clemencie, goodnesse, otherwise extreme justice, injustice, & injurie. Neither can good men easily brooke according to Hesiod, & evill men will not, hurried on to mischief by their owne rapine & ambition, for which they will finde out faire colourable pretences. If the first stirre they doe it with sorrowe, cryinge out, not of will but necessitie. Que sita pecora il lupo lo mangia, if we will not be torn to pieces by the wolves, wee must not be altogether sheepish. If the others succeede in their malice, neighbour people will say with Petrarch, Quo turpior manus eo melior vindicta. Wherefore I saye with Dion Chrysostome; Theis things have binne, & will bee ever true, etiamsi omnes homines, tam viri quam fœminæ, tam Græci quam Barbari, contrariũ affirmarint. A larger subject of discourse à man can hardly undertake then this concerning the punctualities of government & obedience, yet I shall not hazard my discretion in saying much more; but will end with one onely memoriall which I may seeme to have forgott in my third reason from the exemple of the primitive Xtians. They indeede were altogether men of evangelicall sufferance, but in after ages when government was changeable sommetimes in the hands of Xtians, sommetimes againe

recovered by the Gentiles, they did not faile on yeither side to doe mutuall violence, which in them bothe is by the Emperor Julian in an epistle of his to the people of Alexandria thus reprehended. Si nihil vos Alexander conditor, ac potius Deus ille magnus sanctissimus Sarapis commovet, attamen patriæ, humanitatis officii ratio nonne debuit ac potuit commovere?" &c. &c.

Mr. Halliwell, in his treatise on the character of Falstaff, published in 1841, is of opinion, from a careful examination of the hand-writing, that it was in this year, 1625, James wrote his work called "The legend and defence of y^e^ Noble Knight and Martyr Sir Jhon Oldcastel, (sett forth) By Richard James, Bachelour of Divinitie and fellowe of C.C.C. in Oxford." This is preserved along with his other MSS., No. 34, and consists of a poem by Thomas Hoccleve, in 73 eight-line stanzas, written in the time of Henry V. as appears from the inscription or title at the commencement: "Ceste feust faicte au temps que le Roy Henri le cinquiesme que Dieu pardoine feust à Helmpton sur son primer passage vers Harflete." At the end of the work are notes by James upon the Poem, entitled, "Observations upon Hoccleve," occupying twelve pages, which are chiefly written in defence of the followers of Wickliffe and his doctrines. This was one of the Poems in the MS. from Dr. Askew's library, which had formerly belonged to Prince Henry, son to James the First, and from which Mr. George Mason printed his Selection of Poems by Hoccleve in 1796, 4to. But this particular Poem, though one of the most important in the volume, was rejected by Mr. Mason, on the ground of its length, (there

stated as sixty-four stanzas,) and from "being much more of a theological disputation than a poetical exercise." We believe it has never yet been printed. The Poem, however, accompanied with the notes of James, notwithstanding its length, is well deserving of publication by the Shakespeare or some other of our literary societies, both from its intrinsic value, and the celebrity of its hero. As a specimen of James's part we are tempted to extract the whole of the last note.

63. *Ageyn possessions.*] For matter of possessions in reasonable sorte the Wicklevistes would not have binne much offended, if the abuse of them, & in them, had not binne so infinite, of which all stories & times make complainte ynough. Wherefore, as ye Templers were dissolved in Edward the seconds time by pope Clement, and the Erles & Nobles of England shared their lands againe which had binne given by their progenitors indiscretion, so would ye Wicklevists have the same donne uppon the Monasteries, & at last right or wrong they felt the knocke of Harrie the eighth prophecied against them by Piers Plowman, one that seemes to haue beheld the ruine of the Templers. And in this part I will say noe more than what Mathiew Paris hath related of Harrie ye third. Rex henricus tertius, saith he, magistro hospitalis Hierosolymitani in domo de *Clerekenwelle* querulo ac aliquâ injuria. et ostendenti chartas Regum et suam de protectione respondit iratus voce elevatâ prævio magno juramento. Vos prælati et relligiosi maximè tamen Templarii et Hospitalarii tot habetis libertates et chartas quòd superfluæ possessiones vos faciunt superbire et superbientes insanire. Revocanda sunt igitur prudenter quæ imprudenter sunt concessa. Believe me in anything that ever I read of this prince, he never spake more sufficiently, but his actions were so divers, that à Pope by his Bull commaunds him to holde his

hands from liberalitie to holie wars, because he did thence partely so exhauste himself as he was not able to paye the yearely tribute unto which the Pope had made England obnoxious by the injurie of his father King Jhon. What doe theis abject monks talk of the ruining their demaines, when of the glorious temple of Jerusalem there is not left à stone uppon a stone for the transgressions of the Jewes, when age & disordre must conclude the heavens. And they even from Sainct Jeromes time are everie where in best writers the calamitie of the Christian world. But they might saye somme haue binne reformd. No not possibly, for their whole frame of life after they became cenobiticall was yeither unusefull, or wicked of necessitie in the most, whoe never did, never will, or ever maye keepe chastitie, povertie, or obedience against the more urgent rules of nature & civilitie. They indeed pretended to followe Christe neerely, but the whole rabblement of clergie that pursued with fire & sword the Noble valiant Oldcastell & manye other well deserving Wicklevists followed Christe so farre of, as that our former poete Gower could finde no similitude betwixt the Maister & disciples, when he enters thus into comparison :—

Inter prælatos dum Xp̃i quæro sequaces
Regula nulla manet quæ prius esse solet.
Christus erat pauper, illi cumulantur in auro,
Hic pacem dederat hii modo bella movent.
Christus erat largus, hii sunt velut arca tenaces
Hunc labor invasit, hos foret aucta quies.
Christus erat mitis, hii sunt tamen impetuosi,
Hic humilis subiit, hi superesse volunt.
Christus erat miserans, hi vindictamq, sequntur,
Sustulit hic pœnas nos timor inde fugat.
Christus erat virgo, sunt illi raro pudici
Hic bonus est pastor, hi sed ovile vorant.

Of memorie eternall, then you shal be read
By all our race of Thespians, board and bed,
And bauck & boure, vallie & mountaine will
Rejoice to knowe somme pieces of your skill;
Your rich Mosaique workes, inled by arte
And curious industrie with everie parte
And choice of all ye Auncients.—So I write,
Though for your sake I dare not say & fighte.

Perhaps one of the most interesting volumes in the collection of James's MSS. at the present day, is that which contains his letters to his learned friends and correspondents, chiefly men of his own College of Corpus Christi; among whom may be enumerated Dr. Sebastian Benfield,[1] Thomas Jackson,[2]

[1] Sebastian Benfield was born at Prestbury, in Gloucestershire; admitted Scholar of C.C.C. Oxford, 30th of August, 1586, at the age of seventeen, and Probationer Fellow, 16th of April, 1590. He entered into holy orders, and in 1608 became B.D. and D.D., and five years afterwards was elected Margaret Professor of Divinity. This office he held for fourteen years, and on resigning it, took the College living of Meysey Hampton, near Fairford, in Gloucestershire; and dying there August 24th, 1630, was buried in the chancel of that Church, on the 29th. "He was noted as a classic, disputant, and theologist, and so well read in the fathers and schoolmen, that he had scarce his equal in the University." Wood says that he was morose, and of no good nature; also, that he was accounted no mean lover of the opinions of John Calvin. He published several works, and volumes of sermons.—Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 487.

[2] Dr. Thomas Jackson, a voluminous writer of sermons and other theological works, and deserving, for his great learning and attainments, to be considered one of the English fathers of the Church, was born at Witton, in the county of Durham, in 1579. He was first a student of Queen's College, Oxford, in 1595, but elected a Scholar of C.C.C. in the following year, and Probationer Fellow thereof on the 10th of May, 1606, being

Mon dieu, dit il, donne moy patience
Qu' on ha de maux pour servir sainte Eglise.

Such ever were & of necessitie were the manners & condicions of monasteries magnum nomen ei gratia nulla rei, is aunciently spoken of Clarevalle & is true of all. So that I never can have pittie of their ruine in Harrie the 8th. his time. With what minde so ever they sett upon that buisnesse, quô turpior manus eo melior vindicta is well spoken as well of the monasteries as the conspiracie of the Pope & Cardinalls. Theis monasteries were an ould offence as well of the Bisshops & parochiall Clergie, as the Gentrie and Laitie of our land, & if Harrie the eighth as he robd the thief had restor'd to the true men the goods & lands which they had stolen, I meane as well the impropriations to the Clergie as the lands unto the Nobles & Gentrie, his worcke had binne heroique & just & religious. And heere I must not forgett to doe Wickliffe justice, nowe against the calumnie of mistaking ignorance. Somme say that as he was an enemie of monasteries, so allso of our Colledges in the Universitie, whereas the matter is wholly otherwise; The Colledges against which he often declames were the seminaries heere of Moncks & Friars, of whome he writes plainly in his printed prolouge of y^e^ Bible, otherwise for our plaine universitie societies so great love was betwixt Wickleve & them, as when order came from y^e^ Pope for suppressing him & his doctrine, they had it in consultation, whether they should not dishonour the instrument by which that buisnesse was commaunded, & Wickliff in his countrey homilies touching uppon somme harder pointes sayes that theis things ought to be disputed in the learned Schoole of Oxenford. No lett not our Colledges feare that the ruine of monasteries any thing concerns them, but lett us take care that we everie way flie their example of lazie ignorance, luxurie, & discord. And heere I shall end theis notes with the memorie of S^r^. Jhon Oldcastells death thus reported by à malignant hystorian neare

ye time. "An. vo. Henr. V., was Sr. Jhon Oldcastell ycalled ye Lord Cobham taken in ye marche of Wallys & broughte to ye citie of London, ye which was chieff Lord & meyntenour of alle ye Lollardes in this realme, & ever aboute to distroye to his power holy churche. And therfore he was first ydrawed & afterward yhonged & brent hanginge on ye newe galowes besyde Seint Gyles with an yron cheyne aboute his necke byeause that he was à Lord of name, & so there he made an ende of his cursedde lyfe." And lett ye reader knowe yt besides ye memorie of this valiant Gentleman in Foxe, Tyndall also & Bale have in severall books sett forth ye whole processe of his martyrdomme.

It is preceded by a very remarkable and important dedicatory epistle, addressed to Sir Henry Bourchier, which has been printed by Mr. Halliwell in the work before mentioned, but as it is of considerable importance in establishing the dispute relating to the interchange of Sir John Oldcastle and Sir John Falstaff, in Shakespeare's Henry IV., we are induced to reprint the letter entire.

To my Noble friend Sr Henrye Bourchier.

Sír Harrie Bourchier, you are descended of Noble Auncestrie, & in the dutie of à good man love to heare & see faire reputation preserved from slander & oblivion. Wherefore to you I dedicate this edition of Oeeleve, where Sr Jhon Oldeastell apeeres to have binne a man of valour and vertue, and onely lost in his owne times because he would not bowe vnder the foule superstition of Papistrie, from whence in so great light of Gosple and learning that there is not yet à more universall departure, is to me the greatest scorne of men. But of this more in another place, & in preface will you please to heare me that which followes. A young Gentle Ladie of your acquaintance, having read ye works of Shakespeare, made me

this question: How Sir Jhon Falstaffe, or Fastolf, as it is written in ye statute book of Maudlin Colledge in Oxford, where everye daye yt societie were bownd to make memorie of his soule, could be dead in Harrie ye Fifts time, & againe live in ye time of Harrie ye Sixt to be banisht for Cowardize? Whereto I made answeare that this was one of those humours & mistakes for which Plato banisht all Poets out of his commonwealth:—that Sir Jhon Falstaffe was in those times à noble valiant Souldier as apeeres by à book in the Herald's Office dedicated unto him by à herald whoe had binne with him if I well remember for ye space of 25 yeeres in ye French wars; that he seemes allso to haue binne a man of learning, because in à librarie of Oxford I finde à book of dedicating churches sent from him for à present vnto Bisshop Wainfleete & inscribed with his owne hand. That in Shakespeare's first shewe of Harrie ye fift, ye person with which he undertook to playe a buffone was not Falstaffe, but Sir Jhon Oldcastle, & that offence being worthily taken by personages descended from his title, as peradventure by manie others allso whoe ought to haue him in honourable memorie, the poet was putt to make an ignorant shifte of abusing Sr Jhon Fastolphe, à man not inferior of vertue though not so famous in pietie as the other, whoe gaue witnesse vnto the truth of our reformation with à constant & resolute martyrdom, vnto which he was pursued by the Priests, Bishops, Moncks, & Friers of those dayes. Noble Sir, this is all my preface. God keepe you, & me, & all Christian people from the bloodie designes of that cruell religion.

Yours in all observance

Rich: James.

It seems perfectly evident, from this letter, that the famous fat Knight of the Boar's Head, was originally termed Oldcastle; and the point is of great interest, as relating to one of the most popular characters ever drawn

by the greatest dramatist of this or any other age. There are, besides, other evidences of a confirmatory nature; but the letter we have here given may be considered as signally conclusive, and the most important document yet discovered connected with the subject.

We have already alluded to the circumstance of James's intimacy with several of the eminent scholars and persons of his time, and among the rest with "rare Ben Jonson," who is frequently mentioned by him in terms of the highest respect and esteem. In 1625, appeared Jonson's Comedy of "The Staple of News," first printed in 1631, fol., on which occasion James addressed to him the following lines:

To Mr. Benj: Jhonson on his Staple of Niews first presented.

Sir, if my robe and garbe were richly worth
The daring of a statute comming forth,
Were I or man of law or law maker,
Or man of Courte to be an vndertaker,
For judgement would I then comme in and say
The manye honours of your *staple* play:
But being nothing so, I dare not haile
The mightie floates of ignorance, whoe saile
With winde and tide,—their Sires, as stories tell,
In our eight *Harries* time crownd *Skeltons Nell*,
And ye foule Boss of *Whittington* with greene
Bayes, which on living frontes are rarelye seene,
Soone sprung, soone fading, but deserving verse,
Must take more lasting glorie from ye herse;
When vulgars loose their sight, & sacred peeres
Of poetrie conspire to make your yeeres

Of memorie eternall, then you shal be read
By all our race of Thespians, board and bed,
And banck & boure, vallie & mountaine will
Rejoice to knowe somme pieces of your skill;
Your rich Mosaique workes, inled by arte
And curious industrie with everie parte
And choice of all ye Auncients.—So I write,
Though for your sake I dare not say & fighte.

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Brian Twine,[3] N. Baylie,[4] John Hampson, Robert Diot, Dr. John Fleming,[5] a relation of James, Matthew Colmar,

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then M.A.; at which time, Wood says, that "he had laid the grounds carefully, in arithmetic, grammar, philology, geometry, rhetoric, logic, philosophy, the Oriental languages, history, with an insight in heraldry and hieroglyphics, &c. All which, however, he made use of to serve either as rubbish under the foundation, or as drudges and day-labourers, to theology." In 1622, he proceeded D.D., and soon after was made Vicar of St. Nicholas, in Newcastle-upon-Tyne; and at length, elected President of C.C.C., (chiefly through the exertions of Archbishop Laud), Chaplain in ordinary to the King, Prebendary of Winchester, Vicar of Witney, in Oxfordshire, and Dean of Peterborough. Dr. Jackson died September 21st, 1640, in the 61st year of his age, and was buried in the chapel of his own College. Of a deep and penetrating judgment, and various and profound learning, none wrote with more vigour and earnestness, against the Church of Rome, than he did. A complete collection of his works, were published in 3 vols. folio, in 1672-3, with a Life of the Author, prefixed. To this learned Divine James addressed the following lines, on receiving from him a New Year's Gift of the Holy Scriptures:—

"Ad M. Thomam Jacksonum,
qui in Festa die Strenarū mihi dono miserit Biblium.

Arripe quod subiti fervor dictavit amoris
Accedens propriis, carminis et pedibus
Ut non fallaci voveat, sed auspice lingua
Te retro ut versis sospitet annus equis.
Ille tuam curet semper reparetq; salutem
Cui nova nascenti hæc tempora sacra damus
Ille novum quondam qui laudibus extulit annum
Σοί τε νέον δεκτὸν νῦν ἐπιαυτὸν ἀγῃ
Atq; salute nova totum te proluat ille
Cuius sacra tuo munere strena mea est.

Henry Parr, Joshua Aisgill,[6] John Seller,[7] AnthonyWhite,[8] his uncle Dr. Thomas James, his cousin Dr. Francis James,

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Lætare auspicio, sacer hæc sunt impetus, et non
Attoniti veneunt carmina fontis opus.
Nulla pœne mora strenarum numine plenus
Hæc citus adscripsi, felixq; i. pagina dixi."

[3] Brian Twine, was admitted Scholar of C.C.C., 13th of December, 1594, Probationer Fellow, 3rd of January, 1605, entered into holy orders, and became B.D., June 25th, 1610. In 1614, he was made Greek Reader of his College, and became Vicar of Rye, in Sussex; but spent most of his time in Oxford, where he continued to his dying day. He was the last of three generations of Oxford antiquaries, of the same family; and was elected the first Keeper of the Archives, in 1634, which office he held for ten years; and dying in Oxford, July 4th, 1644, was buried in the chapel of C.C.C.: to whose indefatigable labours, and valuable collection of MSS., not only his own College, but the whole University is greatly indebted.

[4] Nicholas Baylie, of C.C.C., was admitted Junior Proctor, April 11th, 1621, and was the first person of his College that ever bore this office.

[5] Mary, eldest daughter of Richard James and Jane Annernon, and sister to Dr. Thomas James, married Sir Thomas Fleming, Knt., of Stoneham, in the county of Southampton, Chief Justice of England, who died in 1613, by whom she had fifteen children, eight of whom survived their father. James's eldest brother, Andrew, also married Margaret, daughter and heiress of John Fleming, of Garcombe,—so that there was a double connection between these two families. Dr. John Fleming appears to have been the fourth son of the Chief Justice, and first cousin, by marriage, to James, by whom the ensuing lines were written, on the occasion of his death:—

his uncle Dr. Edward James, Amadæus Benfield, John Minne, John Streeting, &c. In one of these, addressed to Dr. Francis James, of Christ Church, there is an elegant and

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"In mortem Doctoris Johannis Flemmingi
qui obiit ex consumptione cordis.

Quam benè cordatus Flemingus vixerit et quam
Strenus, et verâ fidus amicitia
Nos tua turba omnes de pectore novimus atq;
Norunt, qui audierant fortia verba viri
Et tamen excordis moritur, scindente chirurgo
Et subiti latebras inspiciente mali.
Nil lacrymis inhibemus iter, purgatior vmbra
Nunc tua secretam pervolet ad requiem
Res non mira omnem qui se pertudit amicis
Siccato cordis sanguine posse mori."

[6] Joshua Aisgill, of C.C.C., was admitted D.D., December 16th, 1622.

[7] "John Seller, of C.C.C., a minister's son, of Kent, was admitted B.A., on the 18th of January, 1611, and M.A., on the 2nd of July, 1614. This John Seller, being a learned man, Mr. Richard James, (whom I have mentioned among the writers of 1638.) numbered him among his learned acquaintance, and therefore wrote divers epistles to him. He became Clerk of C.C.C., in 1608, and Chaunter, in 1613."—Wood's *Fasti.* vol. i. p. 339.

[8] "Anthony White, of C.C.C., took the degree of B.A., on March 18th, 1612-13, and was Chaplain of C.C.C. He was, afterwards, Vicar of Wargrave, in Berkshire, and the writer and publisher of two sermons: 1, "Truth Purchased," on Prov. xxiii. 23; 2, "Errour Abandoned," on James i. 16. Both of which were preached at St. Mary's, in Oxford; and were printed there in 1628, and dedicated by the author to his patron, Sir Henry Neville, of Billingbere."—Wood's *Fasti.* vol. i. p. 347.

highly complimentary allusion to Ben Jonson; and, as the whole letter is of an interesting nature, we may be excused for inserting it entire:—

Ad Doct. Franciscū James.

Tertullianus, Cyprianus, Chrysostomus acriter invehuntur in artem Roscianam et spectacula. Verū non ducendi eorū aculei adversus tragœdias et comœdias nostri temporis, quæ ut plurimum liberrimæ sūt a veterū illarū spurcitie in quibus etiā Christiano jam orbe, obscœnitas oīs effundebatur, et præter cætera exuebantur vestibus populo spectante meretrices, et in conspectu eius ad satietatem usq, impudicarū luminū cū pudendis motibus detinebantur. Sed quod unū nos semper urgere videbitur, induuntur inquiunt et in his viri ornatu muliebri adversus præscriptū sacræ scripturæ:—Cui respondeo, institutū esse scripturæ tantū fraudes inde prohibere et usū communiter, aut si hoc non placet, habeatur aliquando orbi consiliū vestiariorū quod plena autoritate sententiā ferat de vestibus, quæ viriles et quæ conveniāt fœmineo generi, et utrū sine scismate permitti queant populo totius Orientis illæ eorū tunicæ, qui nobis habitus esset procul dubio pro muliebri damnandus, quod ulterius reducūt hoc ad præceptū de non committendo adulterio, et propterea neq, jā licere ridiculū est, eadem nisi ratione neq, nobis sufferta cū sanguine esset ōīo comedenda quod videatur illud spectare ad præceptū de non occidendo. Credo si reviviscerent jā patres illi libenter spectarent ingeniū fœcundissimi Beniamini Jonsoni, quem ut Thuanus de Petro Ronsardo censeo eū omni antiquitate comparandū si compta et plena sensibus poemata ejus et scenica spectemus: cui non Catullianum illud .et Martialis sunt in apologiā. Nam castū esse decet piū poetam ipsum: versiculos nihil necesse est, et

innocuos censura potest permittere lusus
Lasciva est nobis pagina, vita proba est:

Sed chartam amat vita innocentiorem, ut quam reposcēt in ævū longū

elegantiorum manus, cum pulvis et umbra tantū fuerit tam virginis chartæ pater: —

Ede tuos tandem populo Jonsone libellos
Et cultum docto pectore profer opus
Quod nec Cecropiæ damnent Pandionis artes
Nec sileant nostri, prætereantque senes.
Ante fores stantem dubitas admittere famam
Teq, piget famæ præmia ferre tuæ
Post te victuræ per te quoq, vivere chartæ
Incipiant, cineri gloria sera venit.

From the same volume we quote another entertaining letter, as a sample of James's epistolary powers, addressed to the learned Brian Twyne, of C.C.C.: —

Epistola ad M. Bryonem Twine.

Sacerdotiū Romanū in Epistola gratulatoria ad Cyprianum eum papæ nōie salutavit, illud nescio quis absurdus et fastidiens lector expunxit, reponens alicubi Episcopum, cū papa sit honestū satis vocabulū ut ex multis patet, et ex elaboratis antiquitatibus Stephani Pasquierei, sed bruta malitia hujus novi hoīs miru qúantū sese exercuit in hanc antiquam et plenam reverentiæ vocem ubiq, quoties reperitur in oībus prope libris refertissimæ Bibliothecæ Richardi Fox meritissimi Fundatoris Coll. Corp. X. in libris non tantū Theologicis sed et medicis et juridicis, libris, et librorū titulis, initiis, medio, fine, ut cū certissimū sit stercoreum hunc Aristarchum nihil preterea legisse, (intelligere recte non potuit talis infantia) verè mihi persuadeam, hanc hōīs solertiam non fuisse sine adjutorio et divinatione ipsius Dæmonis. Quare nisi qui adversus papam tam furiosus est, non et Dæmonem etiã tot nōibus et titulis famosū apud eosdē scriptores, nigro suo carbone notaverit: scilicet hac veniã agnoscit sibi patronū et suggestorem tam humilis veneni: hoc genus hominū fuerūt qui

parentū nostrorū memoria simili zelo martyres fecerunt libros manuscriptos et perire nobis infinitos incomparabiles authores, ut Rogeriū Baconū nostrū de quo Johannes Twine in libello commẽtariorū de antiquitatibus hujus Insulæ. Rogerius Baconus, inquit, Anglus, ordine Franciscanus Oxoniensis incomparabilis Mathematicus qui nonnullos addidit ejus argumenti, nonnullos theologicos libellos, quorū qui de victoria Christi contra anti-Christum inscribitur, dignū imprimis censeo qui a vobis perlegatur. Cuius opera oĩa graphicè manuscripta, et fortiter compacta, ab ignaris hoĩbus, ut erat temporū aliquot superiorū deflenda barbaries, qui se tamen sciolos haberi volebant, non intellecta, et pro necromanticis damnata, longis clavis affixa tabulatis in bibliotheca Franciscanorū Oxonii, blattas ac tineas pascentia, situq, et pulvere obducta miserè computruerūt. Hoc quanquā ab illis, veresimilitudine boni, ad supprimenda malarū artiū volumina factū: non dubitandū tamen quin eadẽ opera atq, ignorantia præstantia aliqua scripta prorsus extincta sũt, quibus etiã viris gratiæ habendæ quod ullis hodie fruamur. Ut isti timore superstitionis magicæ nobis Rogeriū abstulerūt, sic et Antipas ille nequior blattis et tineis, cũ suis puris putis congerronibus innumeros probos autores, ut essent damnata charta miserūt in officinas mechanicorum, quod scilicet videretur lemniscatis et rubris frontibus lavere triplici coronæ septingeminæ bestiæ.

We have seen that James was intimate with one of the leading dramatists of the time. He was also a contemporary of Shakespeare, and it has been supposed that to him are to be attributed the noble lines "On worthy Master Shakespeare and his Poems," signed J. M. S., which were first printed in the second folio edition of 1632. These initials have usually been assigned to "Jasper Mayne, Student," but Mr. Hunter, in his *New Illustrations of Shakespeare*, p. 310, has conjectured that J. M. S. is JaMeS,

and that the unknown author of this tribute to Shakespeare, is no other than our author, Richard James. We cannot but think this conjecture exceedingly unfounded and improbable, for though there is an obscurity and abruptness in some of James's Verses not very unlike the style of these; yet there is no poem from his pen, not even the lines written during his imprisonment, which are at all equal in power or sublimity to the lines on Shakespeare. Moreover, it is nearly certain, that had they been written by James, they would have been preserved in his own hand-writing, among his other MSS., as every other piece of poetry that he wrote, even to the smallest epigram, is to be found in that collection. If Jasper Mayne was unequal to their production, we think that James was much more so. The former, we know, was a finished scholar; and was also accustomed to that style of writing, (witness his lines prefixed to Cartwright's Poems,) and of which we have other verses by him, not much unlike them, though considerably inferior. It is on the last account that we should even doubt Mayne's title to them. It must be recollected that, after all, the question is exclusively one of conjecture and critical judgment; and, in the absence of any positive evidence, we should be almost inclined to believe that Milton may more reasonably be considered as the writer. Those verses are not unworthy the author of "Paradise Lost."

On the death of his uncle, Dr. Thomas James, in August, 1629, through the patronage of the Archbishop of Canterbury, our author succeeded him in the sinecure Rectory of Little Mongeham, in Kent, to which he was instituted on

the 22nd of October, 1629; but resigned this living in 1635, a few years before his death.

In the ensuing part of this year, he was involved in considerable trouble, arising through his intimacy with Sir Robert Cotton. For while James had the care of Cotton's library, he is said, by certain writers, to have been culpably concerned in the dissemination of the Manuscript entitled "A Project how a Prince may make himself an absolute Tyrant;" which afterwards brought his Patron into trouble, who was taken before the Privy Council, on the charge of having in his possession and distributing copies of this "pestilent tractate," and committed to the custody of the Bishop of Ely, and an order sent to seal up his Library. A full consideration, however, of the evidence, is by no means sufficient to establish any very severe charge against him; and even if we admit that he may have been induced to allow copies to be taken from Cotton's MSS., for the sake of a pecuniary consideration, (which is very doubtful,) it by no means follows, nor is it at all apparent, that he exceeded in this the trust reposed in him by Sir Robert; and it is certainly fair to conclude, that he could have had no conception he was performing any act to the injury of his kind friend and patron. We are, of course, not endeavouring to make out the best case for James, merely because we have the satisfaction of offering to the world a very meritorious composition by him; but we cannot resist cautioning the reader against placing much reliance on the palpably spiteful and partial account given of this transaction by Sir Simonds D'Ewes, in his Autobiography, recently published by Mr.

Halliwell. The very commencement of the notice alluded to, satisfactorily proves that D'Ewes, who was not very moderate in his likes or dislikes, had some ground of complaint against James, possibly because he had not so free an access to Cotton's library as he wished; and he evidently attempts to retaliate, by vilifying James's character to posterity. The tract alluded to was written originally in 1613, by Robert Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, under the title of "Prò̀positions for his Majesty's service, to bridle the impertinency of Parliaments;" and there is not the slightest reason for believing that either Sir Robert Cotton or James suffered copies of it to be taken with any bad intention. Having premised so much, and again repeating that D'Ewes's character of James is, for the most part, founded on a gratuitous assumption of his guilt, we cannot render our biography of the latter, complete, without quoting entire the account given by D'Ewes, which, even with these qualifications, is written with much graphic force, and possesses considerable interest:—

There was one Richard James, a short red-bearded, high-coloured fellow, a Master of Arts, who had some time resided in Oxford, and had afterwards travelled — an atheistical, profane scholar, but otherwise witty, and moderately learned. He had so screwed himself into the good opinion of Sir Robert Cotton, as whereas at first he had only permitted him in the use of some of his books, at last, some two or three years before his decease, he bestowed the custody of his whole library upon him. And he being a needy, sharking companion and very expensive, like old Ralph Starkie, when he lived, let out or lent out Sir Robert Cotton's most precious manuscripts for money, to any

that would be his customers, which Sir Robert was wont to lend freely to his noble and loving friends: which I once made known to Sir Robert before the said James's face. Amongst other books he lent out, one Mr. Saint John of Lincoln's Inn, a young studious gentleman, borrowed of him for his money a dangerous pamphlet that was once written in hand, by which a course was laid down how the kings of England might oppress the liberties of their subjects, and for ever enslave them and their posterities. Mr. Saint John shews the book to the Earl of Bedford, or a copy of it, and so it passed from hand to hand in the year 1629, till at last it was lent to Sir Robert Cotton himself, who set a young fellow he then kept in the house to transcribe it, which infallibly proves that Sir Robert knew not himself that the written tract itself had originally come out of his library. This untrusty young fellow imitating, it seems, the said James, took one copy secretly for himself when he wrote another for Sir Robert; and out of his own transcript sold away several copies, till at last one of them came to the Lord Wentworth's hand of the North, now Lord Deputy of Ireland. He acquainted the Lords and others of the Privy Council with it. They sent for the said young fellow, and examining him where he had the written tract, he confessed Sir Robert Cotton delivered it to him. Whereupon in the beginning of November of the same year, (1629,) Sir Robert was examined, and so divers others one after the other, as it had been delivered from hand to hand, till at last Mr. Saint John himself was impeached, and being conceived to be the author of the book, was committed close prisoner to the Tower, being in danger to have been questioned for his life about it. Upon his examination upon oath, he made a clear, full, and punctual declaration, that he had received the same manuscript pamphlet from that wretched mercenary fellow James, who by this means proved the wicked instrument of shortening the life of the said Sir Robert Cotton. For he was presently thereupon sued in the Star-chamber, his library locked up from his use, and two

or more of the guard set to watch his house continually. When I went several times to visit and comfort him, in the year 1630, he would tell me they had broken his heart that had locked up his library from him. I easily guessed the reason, because his honour and esteem were much impaired by this fatal accident, and his house, that was formerly frequented by great and honorable personages, as well as by learned men of all sorts, remained now upon the matter desolate and empty. I understood from himself and others, that Doctor Neale and Doctor Laud, two prelates that had been stigmatized in the first session of Parliament in 1628, were his sore enemies. He was so outworn within a few months with anguish and grief, as his face, which had been formerly ruddy and well-coloured, and such as the picture I have of him shews, was wholly changed into a grim blackish paleness, near to the resemblance and hue of a dead visage. When I afterwards read in the great and most elegant Latin History of Monsieur James de Thou of some learned men who deceased with grief after their libraries had been pillaged and spoiled by the violence of war, it made me call to my sad remembrance the loss the Commonwealth had in our judicious Cotton; and it might well induce me often to pray that if by tyranny or injustice, my library should be wrested from me, I might account it but a creature comfort, and so submit to God's will in it with patience and humility. I heard it certainly affirmed, that the young fellow whom Sir Robert Cotton kept in his house, and had employed to transcribe the said written tractate, was his bastard; which shews God's admirable justice, to cause the spurious issue of his fatal lust to prove the immediate instrument of his final ruin. I at one time advised him to look into himself, and seriously consider why God had sent this chastisement upon him; which it is possible he did, for I heard from Mr. Richard Houldsworth, a great and learned divine that was with him in his last sickness, a little before he died, that he was exceeding penitent, and was much comforted in the faithful expectation of a better life.

He left Sir Thomas Cotton, his son and heir, wholly addicted to the tenacious increasing of his worldly wealth, and altogether unworthy to be master of so inestimable a library as his father. For he promised me on Monday, the 16th day of this month in the forenoon, when I went to visit him after his father's death, (of which he talked smilingly, without the least expression of sorrow or resentment,) that he would lend me some manuscripts I should need for the furthering of the public work I was about; yet ever when I sent to him, but for one old book of Saxon Charters, into which were fastened and pasted divers originals or autographs, which he had particularly promised to communicate to me, he put me off with so many frivolous excuses or feigned subterfuges, as I forebore further troubling any messengers.

It will be observed that D'Ewes, in this passage, somewhat uncharitably gives the reader to infer that James was, indirectly, the cause of Cotton's death. Such an absurdity scarcely requires even the trouble of contradiction, since we know that James's friendship was continued with both father and son, and that he died in the house of the latter; but it is worthy of notice, because it indisputably exhibits the bitter spirit in which D'Ewes wrote. However, we have performed our duty as faithful historians, by giving this testimony at length, and can readily dismiss it from our minds without further observation. Our facts should be drawn from less doubtful sources than the remains of an indiscriminate enemy, or a too enthusiastic admirer. Either are guides equally dangerous in the road to the discovery of truth.

There is a curious letter on this subject from Sir Henry Bourchier to Archbishop Usher, dated from London, Dec. 4,

1629, which, as it contains allusions to the two Jameses, Uncle and Nephew, is deserving of notice:—

"I am very sorry," said he, "that it is my ill fortune, so often to advertise your Grace of the misfortune of your Friends here. Sir Robert Cotton hath been lately committed to the custody of the Bishop of Ely, & often strictly examined concerning the publication of a Project, tending to the oppression of the Common-wealth, & with him were restrained in several places, the Earls of Bedford, Somerset, & Clare, & some others: after ten or twelve days close Imprisonment, & several Examinations, they were all enlarged; & an Information exhibited against them in the Star-Chamber, to which they are now to answer. Mr. Selden is also made a party to this Information; he is still a Prisoner in the Tower, but enjoyeth now the liberty of the Prison. At my last being with him, he desired me to present his service to your Grace; he would have done it himself, if he might with safety. . . . . I presume your Grace hath heard of the death of Dr. Tho. James: his Nephew, Mr. Rich. James, is fallen into some trouble, by reason of his Familiarity & Inwardness with Sir Robert Cotton."

And again, in another letter to the same, dated January 21, 1629, Sir Henry writes:—

"Sir Rob. Cotton is not altogether free of his trouble; but he and his friends hope he shall be shortly. Mr. Selden is also a Prisoner in the King's Bench; but goes abroad when he pleaseth, so that his friends enjoy him often; I hope we shall have his *Titles of Honour* very shortly."

When Sir Robert Cotton was thus brought before the Privy Council and imprisoned, James was also committed to close keeping by an order of the House of Lords in 1629.

During his confinement he wrote the following copy of English verses, which he entitled,

"A consultation with myself, when I was confin'd into close keeping by ye Lords.

Deere God, by whome in darck wombe's shade
I am to feare and wonder made,
Learne me what parte I am to beare
On this world's stage and theatre.
Miters and croziers are not things
That give to my ambition wings.
For theise I nere did Mammon woo
Nor flatter one great Lord or twoe.
But with a simple diett fed
Scarce cloathed and frended with a bed
I was content in middle rancks
Of meaner sorte to view ye prancks
And feates of men more active, whoe
Are better pleased in what they doo
Then I, whoe sceptickly scarce dare
Of beare, of lion, or of hare,
Or ye worse race of Malopard
Lowd say what I have seene or heard.
Yet thrice I have binne hal'd before
Our Ephorismes of state full sore
Against my will, and sure I must,
Before to tiring roome of duste
I turne, instruct somme scene, and give
My name to storie, whilest I live.
Then, whether on Italian stage
Or English, free or forc't, I rage

Or steale a silent parte, let be
Deere Lord, my sowles rest ever free.
As of Calanus lett none say
Truely of me another day
That I, well seene in antique lore,
Did other Lords then God adore."

These verses he prefixed to a collection of his printed pieces, bound in one Volume, and gave to the Bodleian Library some time before his death. At the end of the verses is written, "Composed by the Author R. James, written with his own hand, and presented to me J. Rous, Bibli. by him 1633."

In 1629 James printed another sermon preached at Oxford, which was followed at intervals by four others. 1. "A Sermon concerning the Eucharist. Delivered on Easter Day in Oxford. On Math. c. 26. v. 26. 27. 28." Lond. 1629. 4to. 2. "A Sermon delivered in Oxford, concerning the Apostles Preaching and ours. By Richard James Bachelor of Divinitie and Fellow of C. C. C. in Oxford." On 1 Cor. ix. 16. "For necessity is laid upon me; yea, woe is unto me, if I preach not the Gospel!" Lond. 1630. 4to. This has a Dedication "To my noble friend Sir Robert Cotton.—Pray Sir, receive it kindly, as you have done me for the space of more than foure yeares, cherishing both my Life and Learning," &c. 3. "A Sermon delivered in Oxford. Concerning the observation of Lent-Fast. By Richard James Bachelor of Divinitie &c." Lond. 1630. 4to. With a short dedication to Sir Henry

Spelman. This Sermon is without a Text, but is grounded on Luke iv. 2. 4. "A Sermon concerning the Times of receiving the Sacrament; and of Mutuall Forgivenesse. Delivered in C. C. C. at the Election of a President. By Richard James B. of Divinitie." Lond. 1632. 4to. With a Dedication "To the Students of C. C. Col. in Oxford." From the Text of 1 Cor. xi. 25. 5. "An Apologeticall Essay for the Righteousness of miserable unhappy People. Delivered in a Sermon at S. Maries in Oxford. By Richard James Bachelour of Divinitie and Fellow of C. C. C." Lond. 1632. 4to. On Psalm xxxvii. 25. With the following lines prefixed:

"The Authors Preface to his Booke.

Goe little booke and kindly say
Peace and content of night and day
Vnto my noble *Selden*. Greete
His gentle hands, his knees, his feet,
In such faire manner, as not he
Deeme anie feinednesse in me.
Say that thy Master oft doth blesse
For his kind love God's holinesse.
And lest thou hindrance be to ought
That busies his heroique thought;
Say not much more, nor wish replie;
But like the silly larke in skie,
When ended is his cheerefull laie,
Warble Adieu, and fall away."

The prose style of James, which sometimes reminds us of

that of the Author of the *Anatomy of Melancholy*, is exceedingly rhapsodical and abrupt, and inlaid with a rich embroidery of learned quotation. It is, however, racy and vigorous; and though sometimes obscure and affected, is occasionally striking and happy. The following passage from his Apology for unhappy men, which is a Sermon on Psalm xxxvii. 25, "I have beene young, and now am old; yet I never saw the righteous forsaken, nor their seed begging bread," may be selected as a fair specimen. Of three Sermons which he preached, as Ant. Wood informs us, the first, concerning the observance of Lent, was without a Text, the second against his Text, and the third beside it. Probably this was the second, for he certainly treats the declaration of the Psalmist with very little ceremony, and positively denies his conclusion, at least in its literal meaning; in this respect falling into the not unusual error of reasoning on an isolated passage of Scripture, without fully considering the bearing of the context, and its influence upon the true interpretation of the whole. The tone adopted by James is rather a singular one, and seems more akin to that of such a writer as the Author of the *History of the Man after God's own Heart*, than that of a sincere and pious believer such as James undoubtedly was.

"For the insinuation of a begging speech, *David* might have beene the king of Beggars, or their learned secretary; yet to shew that his righteousnesse might sometimes begge and not bee satisfied, *Nabal* a churle, so hard as his cragges of Carmel answered *Davids* servants and said: Who is *David*, and who is the sonne of *Ishai?*

There is plentie of servants now adayes that breake away every man from his master, shall I then take my bread, my water, and my flesh that I have killed for my sheerers, and give it unto men whom I wot not whence they be? If *David* will have bread from the Iusticiarie *Nabal*, he must leave his humilitie and the beggerisme of a set speech, gird on his sword, and with a party of 400. men, after *Abigail Nabals* wife hath beene put in a flight, shee will come, and bring him a present, 200. loaves, 2. cheroes, 2. great goat baggs of wine, five sheepe ready drest, five measures of parched corne, a 100. frailes of raisins, and 200. cakes of figges. A sturdy course prevailes better then begging. Peradventure righteous children in his sense doe begge no bread, when it is the more trustie way to draw the sword and get better cheere through violence; For when it cometh of meere gift, 'tis not all so dainty; as in the uncivill and unnaturall wars betwixt him and his sonne *Absolon*, three more gentle countrey-men, *Sobi*, *Machin*, and *Barzelai* brought unto him wheat and barley, floure and parched corne, beanes, lentills, and parched pulse, because he and his people were hungry, weary, and thirsty in the wildernesse. In these Farmers gift there is no wine nor plums for an after service; and strange it is, that a King in the course of his life should have suffered all this; and yet in the rapture and meditation of a Psalme, gather unto himselfe at threescore or fourscore an experience also divers, and say as we have it in our old *English* translation, which delights to word the *Latin* text; Younger I was, and forsooth I yeelded, and I saw not the righteous forsaken, nor his seed seeking bread. גַּם־זָקַנְתִּי I yeelded, I grew up in beard and age, and I saw not this nor that. But howsoever or whatsoever we heare from himselfe, we see it to have beene far otherwise in the trust of a faithful register; and therefore I must borrow in part the words of Saint *Peter*, and say unto you, Men and brethren, let me freely speake unto you of the Patriarch *David*; For he was both hungry and thirsty, and went seeking and begging bread. Certainely, ever since the first

Adam did eate of the forbidden fruit, and brought a curse upon the earth, since the earth left quickly to beare bread of her owne accord, even princes and principalities have beene subject unto the terror of those words in the second of *Genesis;* In sorrow shalt thou eate of it, and in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread. We must have either sorrow and care, and paine in getting of bread with our sweat and industrie, or in eating bread without labour of getting, we treasure up unto our selves the greater sorrow of the gout, stone, strangurie, dropsie, skurvy, and a thousand more tormenting attendants of lazienesse, and for the use of bread we must pay also the tribute of our bodies unto the earth. In sorrowes of mind or sweat of our body we must eat the bread of carefulnesse untill we be turned againe into the belly of our mother ground, saith God, in the second of *Genesis*. *Pindarus* a heathen Poet hath excellently exprest this sad travaile of our life for bread, where hee saith, χρὸναταράποντες ποντιὸντε υδωρ κυνὰν παρὰ δίὰ αντεν. In this life, to get a pittiful, poore, fraile sustenance, we are forc't to plow both land and sea, or as the Scholiast will understand, for bread or breadsworth whole nations are faine both on the Ocean and continent to draw out armies and squadrons one against another with mutuall perill and destruction. All men must have sorrow with their bread, and some of all sorts must want bread. The Prophet *David* after the Prtriarches wanted not bread alone, being righteous, but also many Prophets, many Saints, many Martyrs and Confessours of the truth have been in the like case. *Elias* wants bread and would have starved, without a miracle of ravens and angels to relieve him. *Lazarus* is a Saint of an undoubted Calender, where farre off from the place of torments he was seene to bee in the rest of *Abrahams* bosome, who living was but a poore beggar, could get no other Surgeons then dogs, who came also for want of bread and lickt his soares, had no other hospital then the louzie gate of a rich man, from whose gormand table to his share fell no crummes, a little to refresh his perishing life. And the martyrs and confessors which

were stoned, were hewne asunder, were tempted, slaine with the sword, wandred about in sheepe-skins, and goate-skins, destitute, afflicted, and tormented, which wandered in wildernesse and mountaines, and in dens and caves of the earth, can you thinke that they were not oft to seeke of bread? Then yet the righteous in this world may be forsaken, and they may both begge and want bread; and we must seek farther for a resolution of our sentence; if first I do remember unto you one most famous forraine instance of this casualtie; *Belizarius* was a noble and brave gentleman, a patritian of *Constantinople*, of goodly visage and tall stature, temperate, and compleate of all vertues, curteous to all sorts of men, the souldiers and swaines were at strife who should love and praise him most. The souldier could not want either horse, victualls, or armes, where he was Generall, and so content with their owne pay and provision did offer no violence to the Farmer, nor spoile his labour. Hee led a triumph through the City for reward of his great deserts and service of the warres, he had scowred and quieted all corners and quarters of the Empire, beaten the Goths in Italy often, broke the *Vandals* in *Africa*, brought the Persians under subiection, and forced the sallying Parthians to sit downe quiet from outroads, and molesting the frontires. Yet this man of men, as some Annalists report, was made by the jealous feare of a wicked Prince ἐξ ἐπιτιμων ἀηὴος ἐχὰτως, of an honorable glorious Generall, a man extreamely poore, ὼ τυχῆς της στατου! O the unstatednesse of fortune, cryes out *Zetyes*, had his eyes put out, made to goe up and downe with a woodden dish, and begge for God's cause, that passengers would give one halfpenny to the poore *Bellizarius*, who had beene a famous and victorious leader of the Emperiall forces, but now had no eyes to leade him the way taken from him by the envy and emulation of the Court. τεγονε φεῦ ἐλειλὸς τυμνώτερ ος ὑπέρου. This brave illustrious Worthy, alas againe, saith *Constantinus Manasses*, was made as bare as the pestle of a morter. Φθόνε θήρίον χαλεπὸν, ιλησᾶ, φονεῦ, διὼκτα,

σκὼρπιε μυριὸκεντρε τιγρις ἀνθρωποβόρε. O thou sore biting beast, not fortune but envie, thou theefe, murderer, scorpion with a thousand stings! thou man devouring tiger, thou dragonnesse, thou witch, thou plant of poyson, thou steeleless piercing dart, how long shall thy tyrant-rage thus continue in confounding the courses of human life? So passionate is he in his briefe history. So long as envy and malice live, whilest there be in the world usurers, oppressors, pyrats, robbers, fires, deluges, stormes, plagues, famines, warres, foolish Princes, favorites, undeserving and religious impostours, there will never be wanting woe and distresse to the best men."

It is curious to observe the remarkable and strange material which was introduced into the Sermons of that period; and of all eccentric preachers, perhaps few were more distinguished in that way than James, who was accounted so even in his own times, as we learn from Ant. Wood. Of two manuscript Sermons still preserved among his collections, the first, which is on the Text of John xii. 32, "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me," originally concluded with a Poem of his own, which will be given hereafter, called "a Hymne on Christ's Ascension," and introduced thus:—

"For God, saith the Apostle, hath concluded all in unbelief, that he might have mercie on all. All must be shutt in unbelief, and all believe. St. Peter did on this consideration fall into a rapture of admiration of God's wayes past finding out; and in such manner with your leave, will I utterly end in a Sonnet of praise and meditation upon this solemnitie, least in much speed upon so high a subject, I loose myself: and the Sonnet is this:

To thy passion and thy birth
Blest Lord, I have, &c.

The other Sermon, on James v. 14, among much similar matter, contains the following singular passage: —

"Casually the Prophets and the Apostles have raised men to life by stretching themselves forth uppon their bodies. And so would St. Bernard the white Moncks Angell pretend to doe uppon a Marquis his sonne of Burgundie, and Gualther the Erle of Namours whoe was alreadie buried in a Charterhouse Priorie. But the first was not effected, and for the second the story is, Convolavit dompnus Barnardus ad sepulchrum illud et cum diutissime prostratus orasset, oravit eum prior ut pranderet, erat vi. hora. Cui Barnardus, non recedam inquit donec misetis loquatur pater Galterus, et exclamavit voce magnâ Galtere, veni foràs. Galterus autem quia non audivit vocem Jesu non habuit aures Lazari et non venit. Manie such like remembrances were once had at y^e^ table of Gilbert Foliott Bishop of London concerning Saint Bernards hypocriticall affectation of miracles. Hypocrisie was the verie Genius of theis moncks and friers, by which they beguild the noblemen of their lands, the clergie of their parishes, diverting them to y^e^ use of their infirmarie, their kitchen, their after service, the whole villadge of Kudsdene to a wine seller: And their lives so Antaretique were to all earnest pietie, as I wonder not if ould Piers Plowman did long since designe for them the revendge of Harrie y^e^ 8^th^ when he says

'Then y^e^ Abbot of Abingdon with all his Freeres
Shall haue a knocke of a king.'

And as theis Moncks and Friers, so their Bishops allso wanted not their wayes of dissimulation in this kinde; for which they are reprehended by our thrice Chancelour Thomas Gascoigne in his Theologicall Dictionarie. In the times of perseqution Apostolicall men being forct to liue à wandering life usd long pelches of gotes and sheepe, to secure them against the wether, wherefore, saith he, for resemblance our

Bishops weare long traines of sattin, and our gentlewomen take the fasshion and a great dust is everie where stirrd up. But of all impostures for villanie and atheisme, give us the ceremonie of the Popes owne holinesse. When he crownes the Emperour auncientlie in Rome, he leades him up to a mountaine called Monte Magiore and from thence turning round saies. Hæc omnia tibi dabo. With the devill he pretends title to all the earth, and the power thereof, and both the swoards, and yet in his owne coronation see what povertie, as it is expresst in their owne *Ordo Romanus.*"

And yet at times James could rise with his subject, and use even elegant and sublime language, as the conclusion to one of his printed Sermons on the Eucharist will abundantly show: —

"What a Priest must doe, if after the consecration he finde no wine in the Chalice. What a Priest ought to doe, if after the consecration he see flesh or a little young boy in the Sacrament. What man not given ouer to a reprobate sense, will not easily understand the illusion of these men, stuffing their missals and ceremoniall bookes with so many impertinent vanities, so many foolish and darke imaginations, refusing as the Gentiles did before them. to see cleerly the invisible power of God in the visibility of his creation, changing the truth of God unto a lye, and worshipping and seruing the creature more then the Creator, who is blessed for euer: with these propositions I desire not to moue laughter, but both in my selfe and you a sad disdaine of the most foolish Cimmerian darknesse, which the Roman tyranny had drawne ouer our senses, our reason, our judgment, and all the intellectuall faculties of the soule, which in the dayes of our Ancestors was at the reuolution of this feast to combate with so many meteors of Divinity. The irreligion, the violence, the presumption of the Roman Church in this part is infinite. Christ said

at the Passeouer that *he would no more drinke of the fruit of the vine vntill the kingdome of God be come.* And they at all aduentures in their kingdome haue hurld him into the cup. He said he would no more eat the bread, and they make him deuoure it. *He tooke bread, and hee tooke wine, and said, this bread and this cup is my new Testament.* And they say no, here is neither this nor that, but in visible sensible bread nothing is, but Christ inuisible. Wee see not that which is, and what wee see, that is nothing. Yes, in this nothing with them, Christ is fully as long and broad, and corpulent as at the day of his passion, receiued in whole, and euery part and crumme entirely into the narrownesse of our mouthes. They read riddles, and not Sacraments. *Christ tooke bread, and brake it when he had giuen thanks, and gaue it to his Disciples*, and they take bread, and by consecration make a Metamorphosis of substance, and then aduise in their leud treatises how they may breake the white round accident of their Sacramentall Wafer without plucking and tearing asunder a legge or arme of Christ. These and the like blasphemies when to establish against our Wickliffe the Friers and Bishops had gathered themselves together at Poules in London, heare of that reuerend man what happened.

For I dare truly say, saith he, that if these things were sothe, Christ and his Saints dyed heretycks and the more parte of holy Kirke bileued now heresie. And therefore deuout men supposen that this counsell of Freris at London was with erthdyn: for they put an heresie upon Christ and Sentis in heuene, wherefore the earth trembled, and (Faylande mans voice) answeared for God, as it did in time of his passion, when hee was dambned to bodily death.

The earth euer shakes when any violence is pretended to his body. After he had once yeelded up the Ghost of our mortality, his body resurrectiue both of himselfe and vs, by that signe leades captiuity captiue. He cried with a loud voyce, and yeelded up the Ghost, and behold the vaile of the Temple was rent in twaine, and the earth did

quake, and the stones were clouen, and the graves did open themselves, and many bodies of the Saints which slept arose, and came out of the graves after his resurrection. *Joseph* of *Arimathea*, an honourable Senatour, desires in loue to conserue his body in a new tombe, which hee had hewed out in a rocke, and for that purpose rolled a great stone to the doore of the Sepulchere. The Priests and Pharises assembled to *Pilate*, and to make all more sure, seale the stone, and gard it with a watch, but in the dawning of this day there was againe a great earth-quake: The Angell descended from heauen, and rolled backe the stone from the doore, and sat upon it, and for feare of him, the keepers were astonied, and became as dead men. Aske our Stories, and also a third time when the Friers at London will imprison his body in bread. or drowne it in the Chalice, the earth shakes anew. Let vs therefore rather heare the voyce of the Angell vnto the women; Surrexit, non est hic. *Jesus* of *Nazareth*, which on Good-Friday was crucified on the Crosse at *Jerusalem* by the *Jewes;* which is, so much as in them lies, still crucified by the degenerous *Romans* in their prostitute Sacrament: hee is risen, hee is not here, hee is entred into heauen, hee is made higher then the heauens, hee sits at the right hand of Maiestie in the glory and blisse of heauen. Gaze wee must not any more after a vision of Christ's body, vntill in a second fulnesse of time it shall please him againe to descend and repaire the ruines of this world into an eternall renouation. Euen at that time the powers of heauen shall be shaken, and wee shall see the Sonne of Man come in a cloud with power and great glorie. For the Lord himselfe, saith Saint *Paul*, shall descend from heauen with a shout, and with the voyce of the Archangell, and with the trumpet of God; and the dead in Christ shall rise first. Then shall wee which liue and remaine be caught up with them also in the clouds, to meete the Lord in the aire; and so shall wee euer be with the Lord. Wherefore comfort yourselves one another with these words. And againe, vntill the consummation of that day, reioyce in the mysterie

of this, from the words of the same Apostle: GOD *is manifested in the flesh, iustified in the Spirit, seene of Angells, believed on in the world, and received vp in Glory.*"

James likewise published a second Latin Sermon, "Concio habita ad Clerum Oxoniensem de Ecclesia." Authore Richardo Jamesio Vectense, Bacalaureo Sacræ Theolog: Socio C.C.C., Oxon, 1633, 4to., on Matt. xvi. 18. With a Dedication to Sir Kenelm Digby.

In this year appeared also another work edited by James. "Epistola Thomæ Mori ad Academiam Oxon: cui adjecta sunt quædam Poemata in mortem Clarissimi Viri Roberti Cottoni et Thomæ Alleni." Oxon. 1633, 4to. With a short Dedication to Sir Kenelm Digby. Sir Thomas More's Epistle, which was written from Abingdon, in Berkshire, about 1519, was concerning the study of the Greek tongue, which had been for many years neglected among the Students of the University. The bigoted opposition of the Catholics of the older school to the revival of Greek learning at Oxford about this period, is well known; even Bishop Fox, who had founded the first Greek Lecture in the University a few years previously, thought it necessary to frame a sort of apology, by claiming the expressed sanction of the Church in a decree promulgated by Pope Clement in 1311, enjoining the foundation of Greek, Hebrew and Arabic Professorships in the principal Universities of Europe: but the ingenious ridicule of Sir Thomas More in this and other Tracts contributed not a little to the stability of the new schemes. It was even a common proverb at that time, "Let the Greeks take heed

Dicendi magis egregie, quâ voce notari
Camporum aut similis facies diffusa per annes
Aut mensurandi ratio Geometrica possit.
Chaldæis quod divine senex tibi contigit, alta
Cœlorum secreta tibi cognoscere curæ
Cum fuerat, plebi fallaxque magusque videris,
Sed plebi indoctæ, quam si vel baltheus ambit
Vel toga, tu spernens semper, virtute quietâ
Compositus semperque tuus; non degener arte
Principibus placuisse viris. Nec juncta matthesi
Fama minor, veterum quâ Scripta et gesta revolvens
Eruis in lucem. Sic cùm te fata vocarent,
Supra hyemes vitæ post nonaginta peractas
Mortem non metuens optansve ad sidera migras."

In 1636, James wrote the Poem *Iter Lancastrense*, which forms the text of the present Volume, and is now published for the first time. He appears to have arrived on a visit to Heywood Hall, in Lancashire, then inhabited by the ancient family of the same name, and whilst enjoying the hospitalities of that mansion, to have made various excursions to different parts of Lancashire and Cheshire, and even to Derbyshire and Flintshire, which are described in the poem. It is difficult at this late period, to find out the particular cause or occasion of James's visit into Lancashire. We have stated with diffidence, our own conjectures on the subject in the notes, viz., that he might have been tutor to John, the third son of Robert Heywood, of Heywood Hall, Esq., who was of the same college with himself, and afterwards became Rector of Walton on the Hill, in the county of Lancaster, and have

'Ecclipsim patitur sapientia, sol sepelitur.
'Cui si par unus minus esset flebile funus.'"

"De Puteo Sancti Edwardi in Ædibus
Cottonianis sub ejus obitum exarescente."

"Excessit *Cottone* tuus cum spiritus aurâ
Cœlorum gaudens liberiore frui,
Arescit fons ille sacer de nomine dictus
Regis qui *Anglorum Justinianus* erat.
Quæ vivo tibi non unquam defecit in usus,
Cum moreris latices subtrahit unda suos.
Sit *Letherheade* tuus gurges non fabula vulgi,
Sitque *Breretonia* certa palude fides.
Sint Regum augustæ mortes rutilante cometâ,
Ut decoret mortem Regia lympha tuam.
Res memoranda magis tamen est Annalibus omnis
Anglia quod pro te non fluat in lachrymas,
Pro *Varrone* suo, pro *Britone Cynobelino*,
Qui illam tanquam ungues noverat et digitos.
Quæ Reges, quæ Barones non parturit ætas?
Sed tibi vix dederint sæcula cuncta parem."

"Epicedium Magistri Thomæ Alleni
de Aula Gloucestrensi."

"A casdim quod Dæmonicos sonat, ignorantes
Chaldæos ducunt cœlestia pectora, primi
Qui radio in certas traxerunt sidera leges,
Chaldæi vocis Cheledh ab origine purâ

lest they become heretics;" which More satisfactorily answers, and boldly quotes another saying, "The Phrygians are slow to become wise."

The following are the Poems by James, on Cotton and Allen, at the end of the Volume:—

"Viri clarissimi Roberti Cotton ab antiquâ
Regum prosapiâ oriundi Epicedium."

"Qualis *Homerus* erat de cujus fonte furores
Sacros hauserunt veteresque noviq. Poetæ.
Talis eras nostros inter *Cottone Britannos*
Rerum explorator veterum. Civilia jura
Regni, Magnatum molimina, munia Regum
Et populi, nexus faustos, divortia sæva,
Navigia et merces, castra, artes, religiones,
Nummos, structuras, chartas, solennia verba,
Et quicquid bello fecerat vel pace triumphos
Callebat dextre nemo magis. Omnis ab illo
Et tua *Camdene* et *Seldeni* gloria crevit,
Seldeni tam justitiâ quàm jure periti.
Ingentes Dominos titulorum dote superbos
Famososque Equites, simul omnes si periissent,
Quivis Rex Orbi potis est renovare, beatum
Cottoni pectus nullâ est reparabile cerâ.
Ingenio quicunque vigent tua tecta frequenter
Visebant tanquam à Phœbo responsa petentes.
Nunc oracla silent. Sed non schediasmate tantæ
Oceanum laudis liceat superare, misellum
Nescio quid gaudens ad amici justa litasse,
Omnia compleetar celebrat *Wigornia* verbis
Queis *Neckhami* obitum, crescitque in carmine verum

thus formed an intimacy with other members of the family; or that some connection might have existed between his own family, and some of the numerous and respectable alliances of the Heywoods, and have thus been brought into contact with them. But after all it is perhaps impossible now to ascertain the true state of the case without further evidence, and the point itself is not of sufficient importance to deserve a very lengthened inquiry.

The Poem itself may be considered one of the most interesting and remarkable of James's writings, both from the subjects of which it treats, and the singular and affected style in which it is composed. It may be almost said to be made for annotation; as indeed the author seems to have thought, by his own frequent marginal observations; and his quaint phrases, ancient proverbs, and constant allusions to the works of the learned, with which he was so conversant, as well also as his local notices, require frequent elucidation. The orthography of the Poem is sometimes fanciful and almost even repulsive, and there are some words of a dialectical, recondite, and obsolete character, which require much explanatory observation. But, generally speaking, these words are more properly of the later character, which Nares has taken up, and belong to that period in our literature generally known as the Elizabethan; and the few which belong to earlier times may be regarded as the fruits of that affected system of using obsolete words, which had been carried to such a great length by Spenser and others. We do not think that there are any which call for special observation in this place.

The *Iter Lancastrense* of James belongs to a very rare class of antiquarian relics, every specimen of which has its value. It is from such sources as these that those minutiæ of county history which are the most difficult to meet with are derived; and it is a relief to turn to them from the dry collection of facts and documents, of which those works are in some degree necessarily composed. Having said thus much, we will leave the reader to draw his own judgment on the intrinsic merits of the work, merely observing that there cannot be two opinions on the propriety of its publication by the Chetham Society.

In the same year in which he wrote the *Iter Lancastrense*, James translated into English a dialogue by Minucius Felix, called Octavius, which he published under the title "Minucius Felix his Dialogue called Octavius; containing a Defence of Christian religion. Translated by Richard James, of C.C.C. Oxon." 12mo. Printed by Leonard Lichfield for Thomas Huggins, 1636. Prefixed to the work is the following dedication:—

"To my Lady Cotton wife of S^r^ Robert Cotton of Conington."

"Madame I have received many favours from you, & doe in thankfullnesse present unto your Ladishippe this my translation of Minutius Felix his dialogue which consists of three speakers, M. Minucius Felix, Cecilius Natalis, & Octavius Ianuarius. The one is judge, the other produces in a flourishing oration all the arguments of the Gentiles against the Christian religion, & the third makes unto them such cleare answeare as I believe it will reioyce a Christian reader to understand. Wherefore as the better sort of Greekes, Romans, Italian, French, & others have taken a pleasure to render

unto their owne nation what they found worthy in other languages; I in this little peece have followed their example, annecting unto it something of my owne, for nearenesse of subject, pray Madame let either have your acceptance & know me

Your faithfull servant,

Richard James."

After this follows a short Epistle to the Reader. At the end of the work is the "something of his owne annected unto it," in the shape of three poetical pieces with which the Volume is concluded.

1. A Good Friday Thought.
2. A Christmasse Caroll.
3. A Hymne on Christ's Ascension.

As this little work is now become very scarce. we quote from it the three pieces entire, only reversing the order of them.

A Christmasse Carroll.

Since now the jolly season's by
That gives and takes in curtesy,
I that ~~have~~ nought to give will sing
A caroll to our infant king,
The Prince of peace, the mighty Lord,
Who all created with a word.
And might so have mankind redeemd,
Had not another way best seemd,
Which I adore. not daring prie
In secrets of Divinity.
Haile blessed Virgin, mother milde,
Which at this time didst beare a childe,

Who in the booke of Genesis
Doth bruise the head of serpents hisse,
And so as in allegorie
Would their embleme Grandsire worie.
His cradle was a manger, fed
Where he the serpents, and doe bed
In lothsome ordure neare, else place
Should by *Mariamnes* grace
In *Herods* softest downe have beene
For a fairer Virgin Queene.
Whose burden puzling natures eye
Made a new brightnesse shine in skye,
To guide three wise men rap't in sense,
With gold, with mirrhe, with frankomsense,
From their Starre-gazing Easterne stage
To Bethlem in holy pilgrimage.
When round about poore silly swaynes
Grazing their sheepe on neighbour plaines,
Gods glory first by night did show,
And from an Angell let them know
Tidings of ioy to all mankind,
Which they in David's towne should finde.
A swadling childe amongst beastes stord,
A Saviour which is Christ the Lord,
Borne King of Jewes and Gentiles all,
Who in full time united shall
Humbly vnto him bend, and praise
His triumphe with eternall layes.
Of many proofes which make beliefe
In Christ so borne, this one is chiefe.
The Jewes who scornd his lowly birth,
Are skattered over all the earth.

In false Christs oft by thousands lost
From one land to another tost.
Their Priests, Scribes, all Jerusalem,
Which troubled were at birth of him,
Have lost their Tribes, their Temple, state,
A people outcast, runnagate.
Now for one thousand thirtie one
And full six hundred yeares vndone.
Blest infant, sacred Deitie,
So shrouded in humanitie,
Preserve this new yeare to my friends
From thoughts ill ravelld into ends
Vouchsafe mee and my slender rimes,
Not fawning on these faining times.
Then shall I on thine Altar lay
In Antheme of Ascending day,
As erst I have at Easter done,
Thy *Threnothriambeuticon.*

A Good Friday Thought.

I think how Christ in his great pleasure tooke
A human likenesse often in the booke
Of mans creation, learning as it were,
How in times fullnesse Deity could beare
The earnest of our flesh, in it be borne,
Grow up to three and thirty, then be torne
With scourges and the crosse, bee crownd with thornes,
Surprised by treason, and revild with scorns,
Bee buffeted, bee spit on, to restore
Those cruell actors to his loue and lore,

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From which both they and wee, by serpents wile
In our first parents fall, untill this while
For eating some forbidden fatall fruit,
Figge, Peare, or Apple, which, I not dispute,
Astonisht with the wonder of Gods playe
Amongst the sonns of men, from whence well may
We name our Gospell. He who framed all
With one word, might without a funerall
And passion of himselfe, so all repaire
With one new pleasing breath and gratefull aire.
But since for humane ransome he would die,
I thus thinke on the sacred history,
As from the holy Moore I learne. Behold
The price of mans redemption and be bold
To blesse all nations, Christ his bloud pourd forth,
What ransome may be equall to such worth?
What but all tribes of men? Ingratefull they,
Or very proud, who dare, or thinke, or say
Themselves so great, or this so small, that none
Should be by such price savd, but they alone.

A Hymne on Christs Ascension.

To thy passion and thy birth
Blest Lord, I haue two anthemes sung,
Once more to sing in holy mirth
Thy ascending glory, loose my tongue,
That I with wonder & with praise
May sett forth all thy holy daies.

Borne lowly, then on shamefull Crosse
By Jewes & Romans iudged to dye,

In birth or death not any losse
Empeacht thy immortalitye.
Like Phebus after cloudes of raine
Thy God-head lustred forth againe.

Ascending, thou to men didst giue,
To meanest men, such guifts of grace,
As whether they did dye or liue,
They foret all hearts in highest place
To prostrate scepter, sword, and crowne,
With worship to thy chiefe renowne.

Poore fishermen of lakes, that were
Unapt to sway with eloquence,
That knew not how to menace speare,
Or blandish words that ravish sense,
Even these poore Heralds voyce did tame
And winne all nations to thy name.

When I am lifted up, saith he,
In holy Gospell of Saint John,
Then all men will I draw to me,
That is, to his confession.
To heauen from cratch & crosse he went
With men & Angell's merriment.

Triumphant Lord, no tongue, no thought,
Can reach the wonder of thy wayes,
But we must say, as Paul hath taught
Unto thy euerlasting praise,
The mysterie of godlinesse
Is such, as no tongue can expresse.

God in the flesh made manifest
In the spirit iustified.
Seene of the Angells ever blest,
To the Gentiles verified.
Believd on in the world his story
Was vp received into glory.

The copy of this little book in the Bodleian Library, No. 153, Theol:, was bought at Inglis's sale in 1826, 1039, and is, unfortunately, deficient of two leaves near the end, containing part of the *Good Friday Thought*, and the beginning of the *Christmasse Caroll;* but the editor was fortunate in meeting with another perfect copy, through the kindness of the librarian, the Rev. H. O. Coxe, M.A., in the library of C. C. College.

This was probably James's last published work, but he continued his labours during the next and last two years of his useful life. In fact, his close application to study, and confined and laborious life, brought on, according to Wood, an attack of a quartan ague or fever, while he was staying in the house of Sir Thomas Cotton, Bart., near Westminster Hall, which carried him off after a short illness, in the beginning of December, 1638, in the 47th year of his age; and on the 8th day of the same month he was buried in the Church of St. Margaret, Westminster, in the Burial Register of which Parish he is styled "Mr. Richard James, That most famous Antiquary."

He appears to have died intestate, for the original administration bond is still preserved in the archives of the

Registry Court at Oxford. It is dated February 16th, 1638–9, for £200, executed by the administrator, John Mylles, L.L.B., and Alford Rance, of the city of Oxford, Tailor, for due administration of the effects, of which there is no inventory or account.

Besides his printed works, which he presented himself, bound up in one volume 4to, to the Bodleian Library, with the Verses which he wrote on his confinement, in his own handwriting, prefixed to them, James also left behind him a large collection of MSS. of his own composition, comprised in about forty-three Volumes, all in his own autograph. These are sufficiently enumerated by Ant. Wood, in his *Ath. Oxon.*, vol. ii. p. 631, edit. Bliss.; so that it will be unnecessary to repeat their titles in this place. After the death of James they appear to have fallen into the hands of his friend and colleague, Mr. Thomas Greaves, and on the death of that gentleman, were purchased for the Bodleian Library, where they are still preserved.

In our notice of Thomas James, we have briefly alluded to his literary labours in defence of the Protestant religion, against the tenets of the Church of Rome. In Richard James we have, if possible, a yet more sturdy and vehement advocate of the Reformation, and a more stormy opponent of Popish errors. His mind seems to have been completely enwrapped with enthusiasm in this direction, and these ultra-Protestant feelings appear to have influenced him materially both in his writings and his pastoral duties. We can hardly even select a letter from his pen which is not more or less subject to this observation, and his Sermons may be noticed

as having a similar tendency. At this distance of time we can scarcely enter into the extreme virulence of party feeling between the Roman Catholics and Protestants which then exhibited itself. It is true our own days are not wanting in sad examples of this bitter spirit; but the animosities are much fewer, and of far inferior consideration. James flourished at a period when the evils of the Papal domination in this country were well remembered; when the cries of the Protestant martyrs yet rang from the burning stakes of the previous reign; and when the angry contentions of the mighty revolution effected by Henry VIII. were yet in their full vigour. It was at this period, the age of persecution and alarm of Jesuitical seminaries, that Richard James distinguished himself as one of the most energetic opponents against the see of Rome.

The most important of James's MSS., as showing the bias of his mind and studies, but which has perhaps now lost some of its value, is the large work entitled "Decanonizatio Thomæ Cantuariensis et suorum." This volume—the labour in which he chiefly delighted—exhibits more than any other the great variety and extent of his learning. He was rich in Talmudic and Arabic lore, and in the various foreign writers on Scriptural subjects. His knowledge, also, of our own early historical writers and chroniclers, would astonish a modern student. And being himself a writer of poetry, he did not neglect the poets of his own country, but makes frequent quotations from Chaucer, Gower, and others, more especially from *Piers Ploughman*,[1] in which he found a similar

[1] *Piers Ploughman* is an allegorical Poem of great merit, directed against

congeniality of sentiment in attacking the different Monastic orders, and the debasing superstitions of the Romish Church; and from this latter work he makes frequent and long quotations.

In summing up the character of Richard James, we cannot do it in terms more appropriate than those applied to him by his biographer, Ant. Wood, who says, "He was noted by all those that knew him to be a very good Grecian, poet, an excellent critic, antiquary, divine, and admirably well skill'd in the Saxon and Gothic languages." He remarks, also, that James, "though humorous, was of a far better judgment than his uncle Thomas James, and had he lived to his age, would have surpassed him in published books. Nothing, in short, was wanting to our author and his studies, but a sinecure or a prebendship; either of which, if conferred upon him, Hercules his labours would have seemed a trifle."

The Manuscript from which the text of the *Iter Lancastrense* is printed, is a small thin folio volume, bound in a pasteboard cover, written in the bold but singular and difficult hand-writing of the Author. It occupies ten pages, and has numerous contractions and peculiarities in the spelling, which have been carefully preserved in the text. It is marked No. 40, in the Bodleian Catalogue.

In the Biographical Memoir of the Author, the Editor has

the vices and corruptions of the age in which it was written, the close of the fourteenth century. Its author is not positively known; but it was composed by a monk resident in the West of England, most probably in Herefordshire. The best edition is that edited by Mr. Thomas Wright, in 12mo, 1842.

been anxious to include every kind of information he could procure, which was in any way likely to prove interesting to the reader, or elucidatory of James's character and writings; and although he is fully aware that the account is still very imperfect, he trusts that he has been able to bring together from various sources many particulars, some of which are entirely new, and others not generally known to the reader.

With regard to the Notes, should it be considered that they are rather too lengthy and discursive, and that some of them are on subjects which scarcely require annotation or elucidation, the Editor would merely remark, by way of apology, that this fault would probaby be recognized exclusively by the student in this branch of historical literature, and form no subject of animadversion to the majority of the Subscribers to the Chetham Society, who are necessarily engaged in other more absorbing pursuits.

In drawing this extended Introduction to a close, it only remains to acknowledge, with much gratitude, the kind assistance which the Editor has received in the prosecution of his labours.

His first thanks are due to the Rev. Dr. Bandinel, Principal Librarian of the Bodleian, for his obliging permission to examine the entire collection of James's MSS., in that unrivalled depositary, and for obtaining a transcript of the Poem now published.

To the Rev. Joseph Hunter, F.S.A., the diligent Historian of Hallamshire, the Editor is indebted for much valuable information respecting the Heywood family, and other kind suggestions; and also (not knowing that the Editor had

already performed the task,) for a collation of the printed copy of the *Iter*, with the original MS. at Oxford.

To GEORGE ORMEROD, Esq., L.L.D. F.R.S. &c., the Editor gratefully acknowledges the many kind favours he has received from him, and his ever ready willingness to impart information from the stores of his accurate and enlightened mind.

But above all, are his thanks especially due to the Rev. F. R. RAINES, M.A. F.S.A., the able Editor of Bishop Gastrell's *Notitia Cestriensis*, for his valuable genealogical information respecting the various families mentioned by James in the Poem,—and for the very kind and friendly assistance which he has at all times been ready to afford from his extensive and invaluable Manuscript Antiquarian Collections.

The Editor is also indebted to the Rev. Dr. BLISS, Registrar of the University of Oxford; the Rev. ALEXANDER DYCE; ALBERT WAY, Esq. M.A., Director of the Society of Antiquaries; THOMAS WILLIAM KING, Esq., F.S.A., Rouge Dragon Pursuivant; the Rev. HENRY L. JONES, M.A. F.S.A.; and the Rev. JOHN PICCOPE, M.A., for several useful and obliging communications. He must ever account it one of the chief sources of gratification in his labours, to have thus been brought into communication with individuals, so distinguished in their different departments, who have taken an interest in the success of his undertaking.

The Editor has to apologize for the delay which has taken place in the publication of this volume, which has arisen from the pressure of other daily and more important avocations, from the necessity of frequent collations with

the original MSS. to ensure the requisite accuracy, and partly from the dilatoriness of the engraver. The work, however, would have appeared somewhat earlier, had not the Editor's anxiety to avail himself of every source of information led him to take more than usual pains in collecting materials; and he feels assured that whatever be its defects, they will not be ascribed to the want of any exertions in that direction. But apart from these considerations, the Editor takes the opportunity of pleading his inexperience in literary undertakings, as an apology for the indulgence of the Subscribers towards the fruits of his labours, assuring them of his own diffidence in placing them under their criticism. His anxious wishes for their favourable opinion naturally increase his distrust, which is not removed by the reflection that the volume treats of facts, and not of theories. If he were so inclined, he might perhaps claim, that a contribution to the minutiæ of local topography should be exempted from any comparison with the composition required for the generalities of history; but those who are best acquainted with the present class of compilations will scarcely consider reservation necessary, nor will any fair critic adopt such a criterion. Every work should be judged by the manner in which its presumed objects are accomplished, and taking into consideration the unambitious nature of his pretensions, the Editor may fairly conclude with a reiteration of the anxiety which has pervaded his endeavours throughout his researches to give satisfaction to the Members of the Chetham Society.

T. C.

THE following entries relating to the family of James, from some of the early Registers at Newport, in the Isle of Wight, for which I am indebted to the Rev. Joseph Maude, M.A., arrived too late to be made use of in the proper places.

Anno 1570.

Thomas fleming and Maria James mar: y^e^ 13 of februarii.

Anno 1578.

Joan the daughter of Markes James bur^d^ y^e^ 16 day of ffebruarii.

Jane y^e^ daughter of M^r^ John James bap. y^e^ 17 of August.

Anno 1579.

Jane James bur. y^e^ 30 of Januarii.

Abraham y^e^ sonne of Markes James bap. y^e^ 25 of februarii.

Anno 1581.

Richard the sonne of Marke James bap. the 7 daye of Aprill.

Richard James bur. y^e^ 10 of June.

Jane y^e^ wife of Richard James bur. y^e^ 22 of June.

Anno 1582.

Dowsabell y^e^ daughter of Markes James bap. y^e^ 8 of Julii.

Dowsabell ye daughter of thomas fleming bap. y^e^ 18 of Julii.

Dowsabell fleming bur. y^e^ 22 of August.

Dowsabell James bur. y^e^ 8 of November.

Anno 1586.

Averen James y^e^ daughter of Markes James bap. y^e^ 12 of June.

Anno 1588.

Richard y^e^ sonne of Marke James bap. y^e^ 22 of March.

Anno 1589.

Thomas James bur. ye 17 of June.

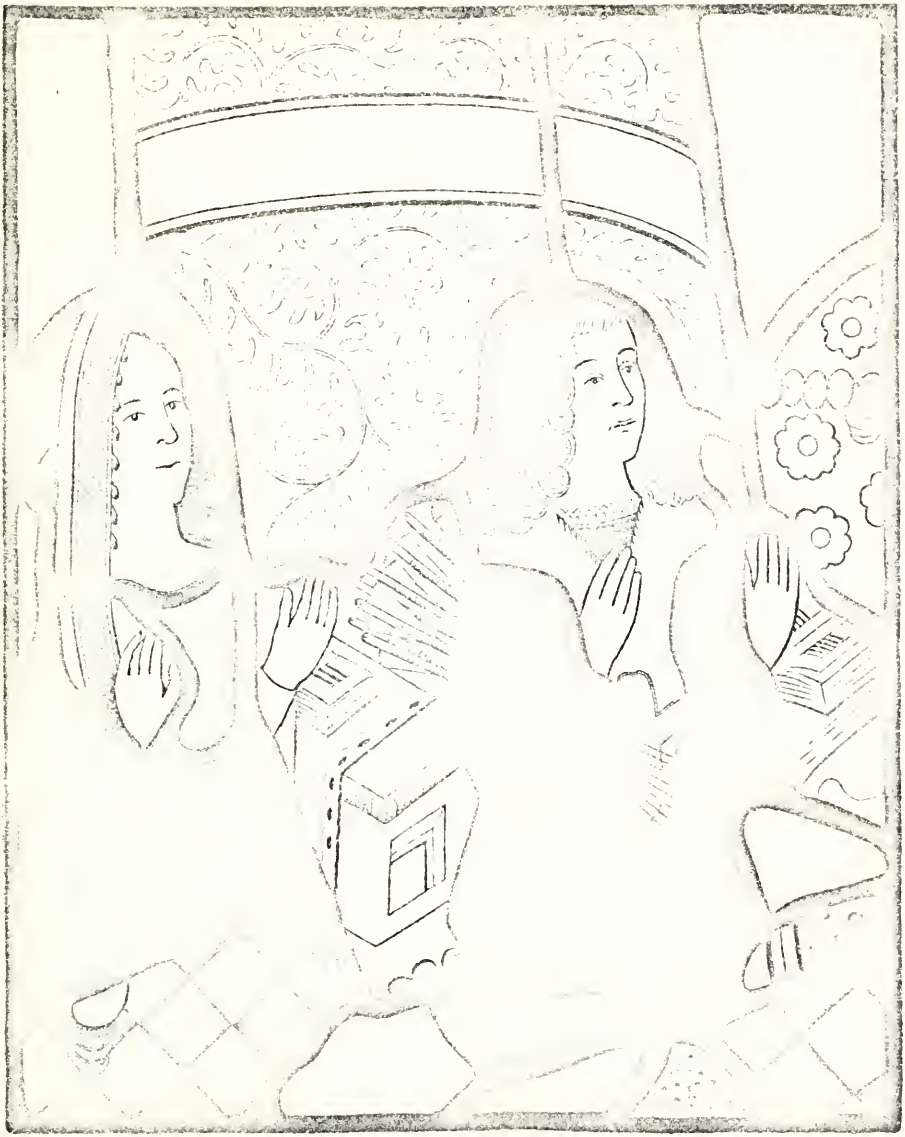
Anno 1593.

Thomas the sonne of Richard Jeames bap. ye 7 daye of September.

Anno 1594.

Mary the daughter of Andrew Jeames bap. ye 5 of Januarii.

Joan the wife of Andrew Jeames bur. the 11 daye of Januarii.



Sir Richard Aſhcton and Dame Anne his wife.
anno dñi mcccccxxiiij.

ITER LANCASTRENSE

RICHARDI JAMESII.

From ye varietie of their name written in ould evidencies all theis conjectures are probable.

Birthe and death are equally ye gifts of nature; he yt is of other minde shall never be quiet.

Peers Ewood, with many other gentlemen thereaboutes, had land given vnto them at ye same time by Adam de Berrye, ye charters of which donations are yet extant. Theis charters are anciently calld books, and signe of a free tenure.

Theis were not chief Lords, but free men, whoe after griew to great worshippe. Whence Chaucer in his character of ye Frankelin—
At sessions there was he Lord and Sire.
Full ofte there he was Knight of ye Shire.

High holtt of woods, or haye enclosed with woods,
Or woddie Isle surrownded with fierce floods
Thy antique bounds; from whence so ere thou haue
Thy name, I blesse ye, Heywoods wombe and graue,
The board and bed vnto thy ofspringe be
Kinde of their seasons with tranquillitie.
Thou bookland Heywood, lett each aged Sire
To well growne children ye with lightsomme fire
Deliver gift of Berries Lord, when pejres
Rejoiced in men, not onely in their steeres
And towne-devouring sheepe, about ye date
When second Harrie mightye was of state.
The Lords him followd to ye wars, and they
With their bolde Francklins dowbted not ye day
Of battle, men each other knowing voyd of strife,
Honour resolvd to winne, or laye their life.
Fulchis of Crew in Chesshire, thy braue worde
Once spoken doth to after times afford
Worthy example: when in dismall fight
A horse was offerd to secure thy flight

And leave thy fellowes to à bloodie field,
If their stoute couradge did refuse to yeeld,
Thy wordes were, "Hether, trustie friends, we came,
And, if we doe not gaine, weele looze no fame:
Goodwives of Nantwitch and their daughters shall
Nere houle aboute me for their kindreds fall."
So he, so Talbot, Frances terrour, dide.
Because they would not from their fellowes ride.
Such times were those which never heard ye crye,
"Break open ranks for now my Lord doth flye."
Free lords free tenants lou'd; againe they trye
To lone their Lords in life and memorie.
Ashton of Middleton, to ye I went
From my deere Heywood once, and there I spent
One space of leasure, to behould and see
The fairenesse of thy seate and courtesie,
In which we kindely fed, slept, rose againe
Next day, with other views to entertaine
Free welcomme, and summe miles beyond thy home
Mounted vppon thy horses we did rome,
Vnder thy guidance, to à Roman waye
High cast yet standing, as perchance it laye
From Yorck to Chester. Austins voice is true,
Empire condignly was to Romans due.
Our wayes are gulphs of durte and mire, which none
Scarce ever passe in summer withoute moane;
Whilst theirs through all ye world were no lesse free
Of passadge then ye race of Wallisee,
Ore broken moores, deepe mosses, lake and fenne,
Now woreks of Giants deemd, not arte of men.
Oñ theis their stages stood their forts and tombes;
They were not onely streets but halydoms:

Such is ye tradition of him at Crewe once his Lordshippe now in ye possession of Sr Randall Crewe. Every stone speaks ye manner of Talbot's death. Theis Talbots before their Erldom were auncient rich Barons of this kingdome whence of one of them tis sayd, ditissimus baro totius Angliæ, and so no doubt but they came brauely attended into ye wars.

Quâ causâ Deus Romanos secundū quandā formam terrenæ civitatis bonos adjuverit ad antiqui imperii gloriam consequendam. — dedit mercedem bonis Romanor artibus terrenam gloriam excellentissimi imperij. Aug. Civ. Dei.

Nic. Bergier à French Lawyer hath written a lardge historie of theis Roman high wayes.

Peradventure thence in ye North a Roman forte is calld Reisingham. Reus, or Rese in Dutch signifies à giant, and our ould storyes say in à mistake from hence yt giants auncyently inhabited this land and built their citties vppon high hills.

So did their buisnesse speede, and armyes flye
From East to West like lightning in the skye.
Now go we to ye church of Middleton,
To finde out there summe glorye of our owne.
At chardge of those good men, whoe went out far
In suite of our braue Ashton to the warre,
There stands à painted windowe, where I weene
The showe of their departure may be seene:
The Lord and Ladye first in skarlett; then
One neere attending of ye chiefest men;
Their garments long, his short and bliew, behinde
The chaplaine of ye warfare you may finde
In robe of ye same colour, for to say
Before an altar praiers of ye daye
On bended knees; him followe neighbours bould,
Whoe doe bent* bowes on their left showlders hould,
Their girdle sheaft with arrowes; as ye squire
So are they all, courtmantells in attire
Of blewe; like Greeks in Trojan warre, their haire
In curles long dangling makes ye semblance faire
And sterne; each hath his name, and people tell
That on ye same lands now their children dwell
As yet so called. Larroue, thy camarades
Of men theis were, which feare would never shades
Of death in warlike service; Agincourt,
Cressy, Poitiers, and Floddon field reporte
Their mightye acts, such as were never donne
Greater by Roman or ye Macedon.
Were I ye, gentle Ashton, theis should be
In pourtrait honour of my pedigree:
I would in statue or in table make
A commelye niew remembrance for their sake.

Auncienty people did not vse to burye in ye citties much lesse so frequently in churches. Luthers advise in this point is not only civill but allso preservable to ye health of citties. See allso of this William Zepper in his ecclesiasticall policye how monasticall avarice brought funeralls to ye church. See Rivet and Beza.

*The excellent prince Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk with bo men of England sle King Jamye, with m a Noble Scotte agai Floddon hill, in wh battell ye stout arch of Chesshyre and L cashire for one day l stowed to ye death for their Prince and Countrye sake hath gotten immortall name and praise for ever. Ascham in his Schoole of Shootinge.

Of ye wearing haire long or short Galen hath à verie fine discours. See allso Lycurgus proverb of it in Plutarch. terribile quiddam præ se fert densũ Gallor et Scythar cupillitiũ Clem. Alex.

With such camarades as those of which Larroue speakes ye commendation in his militarie discourses, all our auncient wars were fought, and so it continued I believe vntill ye dissolution of Abbyes, vppon ye lubbers of which pressing beganne to be sufferd. They were so many fitt for no civill course of life ye Bishop Hooper in a sermon complaines, how twentie men could hardly passe safe together vppon ye high wayes. The former service was yeither by tenure or by agreement, whence in ye pell office

are yet manie obligations extant betwixt ye King ye Nobles and Gentrye of ye Land.

And lett the state learne from my Auncestrye
What course is fittest deeds of warre to trye,
Not men of meanest ranke, whoe prest putt on
Withoute à shirte à poore mandillion,
Whoe in despaire of life more* willing goe
Vnto ye gibbett then against ye foe.
Middleton, adieu! ye setting sunne doth trace
Far to ye West, and wee to Heywood pace,
Where dairie worck goes forward, fairies spinne,
And of their ferrs good housewife praises winne.
Ladyes of Courte and Cittie dames, not fleere,
Because I praise my virgins for this gheere:
This worck, this gheere, if storyes do not faine,
Was donne by daughters of great Charlemaine:
This doing keepes them in a liuely heate,
And still preserves à stomack to good meate:
They are not lazie, queazie, wanting breath,
Nor in a wan fainte palenesse bourding death;
They covett not as you to cloye their tripes
With coles, lome, asshes, foule tobacco pipes:
Happinesse attends them if they marrye,
And comme lovers whoe not loue to varye:
I wish loue constant.

Let us varie sportes
Whoe are at leasure, and seeke niew resortes
For recreation. Ormeschurch and ye Meales
Are our next jorney, we direct no weales
Of state, to hinder our delight. Ye guize
Of those chaffe sands, which doe in mountaines rize,
On shore is pleasure to behould, which Hoes
Are calld in Worold: windie tempest blowes

* Our great Sires were so farre from pressing to warre yt King Edward ye 3. in ye first volume of Froissard, cap. 295, speakes thus to his souldiers at Dovore vppon their departure for France. Que son intention estoit toute quil vouloit passer outre au royaume de France, sans jamais rappasser, jusques a tant quil auroit fin de guerre ou paix a sa suffisance, ou a son grand honeur: ou il mourroit ou la peine: et s'il y avoit entre eux, qui à ne vousissent entendre, il leur pleroit qu'ils s'en vousissent retourner.

Filios quam primū ætas poterat more Francorū equitare, armis ac venationibus exercere fecit: filias verò humilio assuescere, colo que ac fuso, ne per otiū torpescerent operam intendere, atque ad otiū honestatem erudiri jusset. Eginhartus de vita et rebus gestis Caroli Magni. See also Vives de xpiana fœmina. Sed fœminam saith he, nullo modo decet mihi artiū quæ manibus tractantur imperitam esse: ac ne principem quidem, aut Regem. Quid enim aliud potius agat aut melius agere domesticis negotiis? Confabulabitur scilicet cum viris aut aliis fœminis. Quibus de rebus? semper loquetur: nunquam conticescet? At cogitabit quæ? scelet est cogitatus fœminæ ac fere constans vagus, peregrinus, lascivo quo lubricitate devolvetur sua, etc.

Both christian and heathen writers mention ye reverence of ye sea vnto ye sands, but God's providence needs not any such weake proofes. The sand and peobles are indeede rowld up by ye sea and so abonte Winchelsey, Dele, and many other places ye sea doth as it were make a fence against it self. Chrysostome vses ye worde of reverence and Minutius Felix says necrely, marii intendo, legelitoris stringitur. But to those whoe haue viewed ye site of sea and land tis apparant yt if God had not made other fenses of high rocks and shores, a reverence of sands would not keepe ye seas from drowning all.

Them up in heapes: tis past intelligence
With me how seas doe reverence
Vnto ye sands; but sands and beach and peobles are
Cast up by rowling of ye waues a ware
To make against their deluge, since the larke
And sheepe within feede lower then ye marke
Of each high flood. Heere through ye wasshie sholes
We spye an owld man wading for ye soles
And flukes and rayes, which the last morning tide
Had stayd in nets, or did att anchor ride
Vppon his hooks; him we fetch vp, and then
To our goodmorrowe, "Welcomme gentlemen,"
He sayd, and more, "you gentlemen at ease,
Whoe money haue, and goe where ere you please,
Are never quiett; wearye of ye daye,
You now comme hether to drive time away:
Must time be driven? longest day with vs
Shutts in to soone, as never tedious
Vnto our buisnesse; making, mending nett,
Preparing hooks and baits, wherewith to gett
Cod, whiting, place, vppon ye sandie shelvs,
Where with to feede ye markett and our selvs."
Happie ould blade, whoe in his youth had binne
Roving at sea when Essex Cales did winne,
So now he liues. If any Busshell will
Liue west the world, withoute projecting skill
Of Ermitage, he shall not neede to seeke
In rocks or Calve of Man an ember weeke:
Heere at ye deserte Meales he maye, vnknowne,
Bread by his owne paines getting, liue alone
Withoute à callott or à page to dresse
Or bring bought meate vnto his holinesse.

But haste we back to Ormeskireke, least, I feare.
Our friends departe, and leaue vs in ye reare;
And home to Heywood, whence I joy to tell
Our next niew sallie to ye holye well,
Foure miles beyond Flint castle, where our age
Doth yet behould à doting pilgrimadge.
Authors, yt legends write and holye tales
Without book, say yt whilom dwelt in Wales
An amorous yonng prince calld Caradoc,
The sonne of Alaine, born of Royal stock,
Enflamd of loue of fairest Winefride,
Lord Thebith's daughter, whoe had promised
Vppon Beunous preaching, to liue aye
A votall virgin till hir dying daye.
But, when hir parents vnto church were gonne,
Into ye house came Caradoc anonne,
And, as he found hir setting by ye fire
Vndrest, he quickly opend his desire.
To which she mildely sayd, "pray, Sir, lett be,
Vntill my parents from ye church you see
Returnd; you are ye prince, and soone may gaine
Their good consent to make their daughter raigne
A Queene by mariadge: better cloathes I will
In ye meane while putt on, for to fulfill
Your lawfull pleasure." To hir chamber so
She went, and soone doth through à posterne goe
To save hir self. She fled, he did pursue;
Loue griew to rage, and forth his sword he driew,
With which at one blowe, with an angrie looke
Hir louely head he from hir bodie tooke.
The head fell downe, and tumbling rowled was
Into ye Temple where ye priest said mass:

Gilbert de Stone being for ye time a trimme man of his penne was sollicited by ye Monks there to write their founders or saints life: when he required summe memories of him, they had none at all. Wherefore in a letter of his, he says tis no matter, for he would write them notwithstanding a fine legend after ye manner of Thomas of Canterburye, and certainly moste legends are written after ye manner of Gilbert.

Beunous was ye priest; so ghastly sight
Sett him and all ye people in à fright:
Yet takes he vp ye head, and marches on
Vnto the body with procession.
Curse falls on Caradoc, and he with it
Doth vanish forthwith to infernall pitt.
The holye man doth often kisse hir face,
And then it aptly on hir body place.
Bothe coverd are with mantle, till he goe
Againe to church and end his masse belowe,
First breathing in hir nostrills; by which breath,
At their returne, she raised is from death
As from a sleepe, he praiyng, and ye men
Whoe there came with him, saying, "Lord, Amen;"
And raised is as perfitt as before,
Saving yt all hir after life she wore
A circle in ye juncture white as milke,
Which seemd to view à thread of finest silke:
And so, not loozing aught but in her name,
She thence from Breuna Winefride became.
With Britaines wen is white; but stained red
Still are ye stones where ravisht was hir hed
From of hir bodye in à fountaine cleere,
Which at this cruell deede did first apeere,
Since curing each disease, each sore and grief
In those which of this Ladie seeke relief.
Reade Surius and Baronius, whoe more
From Thomas Asaphs Bishop keepes in store.
But Capgraue says, and truth he says I weene,
All things yt are related are not seene.
Nay, here we see,* ye lame, ye halt, ye blinde,
Bothe rich and poore, no health can ever finde,

* See Euseb. de prepar. lib. 4, cap. 2, for the Ethnic and now Roman superstition doe much agree. Cogita vero ipse tecū. saith he, exempla vetera repetendo, quam isti sæpe, cum affectæ valetudinis hominibus, robur, vitam, salutemque promisissent, iisque postea non secus ac dijs fides haberetur, paulo post ingenti pecuniæ vi ex hoc afflatæ divinitus mercaturæ genere corrogata, quales tandem essent manifeste deprehensū fuerit, impostores scilicet ac circulatores, non autem dij cum decepti ab ijs homines infaustū exitum habuissent. Quid porrò attinet dicere, ne populatibus quidem suis, et ejusdem secum civitatis indigenis vates egregios quicquam præsidij vel opis afferre, cum infinitos ibidem videas morbis laborantes, claudos, cæcos ac toto sæpe corpore mutilatos? Quid vero in causa fuerit, cur peregrinis quidem hominibus, et ex longinquâ regione venientibus rerum melhorum spes quasdam umbratiles ac fucatas ostenderent civibus autem popularibusque suis non item; quibuscum tamen eos vtpote domesticis amicis, ac civibus derivatum ex numinum præsentia bonum communicare oporteret; nisi quod extraneos homines veteratoriæ calliditatis ignaros facilius in errorem, quam alios sibi notos ac familiares impellerent, quippe qui artis huius imperiti non essent, sed vsitatæ ludificationis optime conscij? And hence it is yt St. Godric and St. Thomas are sayd to have made a bargaine yt Godric should cure ye South, and Thomas ye North peoples diseases. But for truth Harrye ye eight erred bothe their impostures.

And manye pilgrims dye vppon ye place,
Whoe on their bare feete seeke hir healing grace.
Nay, nothing of the name of Winefride
Is in Geraldus or Galfridus read,
Whoe ye survaye did write and ye storie
Of their deere Wales, in which they glorie.
Theis learned clercks of Wales of hir kniew naught,
Or waud such tales as Salope Robert brought;
They neither him nor yet Elerius cite,
Though summe men say they bothe of hir did write.
But here to Templers cell were monkes put in
Vnder our seconde Edward: then beginne
Theis craftie fables: stories they invent;
They purchase pardons which from Rome are sent;
They builde à structure, chappell, cloysters rownd
Aboute ye well; to put of cloathes they founde
A joining roome: in seventh Harryes time
And in Queene Maries, with such toyes they chime
Much people in with coyne to buye no health,
But to encrease their Greene-field Abbyes wealth.
The smocks which now for bathing we doe hire,
Were then belike theis monks rent and desire.
From natures secretts poets storyes faine;
Naught els of poets doe theis monks retaine.
This faire cleere springe, which courses through ye hills
Conveys summe mettall tincture in hir rills,
Which they make staine of blood.
But now the tide
Hath left the sandes, and we to Chester ride.
Chester a Roman station, where are fownd
As yet summe of their reliques vnder grownd.

See Gabriell Powell in his annotations vppon Giraldus his surveye of Wales.

Of Elerius and Robertus Salopiensis see Ihon Bale; &c.

There is another springe ten miles distant from Winefrides well, where are fownd stones in great number spotted in ye same manner, summe of which Mr. Tredescant shewes given vnto him by Sr Jhon Trever, as theis springs staine their peobles red so Wellingborowe waters make things yellowe, and bothe haue their cause from nature not historye.

The Romans hypocausts did vse, where heate
Of fire putt vnder made them kindely sweate
Aboue; ye bricks of such worke, lardge and square,
In knowing Whitbyes house preserved are.
Theis drie baths were of antique times ye cure,
Which doe in many countryes still endure,
And from my owne experience to be plaine,
I thinke no waters are so soveraigne.
Of bucks and does, strainge beasts with peeled crowne,
Were whilom manye cloysters in ye towne.
T'was well contrived; when Friers were so nighe,
I hope no sisters did of molaes dye,
Of which disease ye Jew Amatus sure
Hath writt as well ye pittie as ye cure.
Fond fals imposture! can mans wisedomme haine
The streames of Dee from gliding to ye maine?
Three miles from Chester lyes a common heath.
Famous as yet with people for ye death
Of Bangor Monkes, whoe came to blesse ye fight
Of Brockmail Chesters Consul, put to flight
By Ethelfride Northumbrian king: from farre
He came, incited to a bloodie warre
By Ethelbert ye king of Kent, to slaye
The Christian Brittaines scorning to obeye
The pride of Rome in Austin, whoe with slight
Had made that foolish prince his proselyte.
Malice, rage, murder, and confusion
Markes use of Romish superstition:
Rome plants in blood, blood makes her thrive wee see;
The Turke to Christians is more milde then shee.
America, thy wofull tragedie,
Was not more fell then this of Brittanie

For is it not pittie ye poore wenches should be putt to ye shifte of abortions molaes and so manye murders of their owne infants, as this forct Virginitie did enforce them to. See Vlrick's epistle to Pope Nicholas and ye repentance of Gregorie ye great in this point after he had fownd six thousand infants' heads in ye foing of his fishponds; see more of this in Honorius Augustodun. and Clemangis.

Ethelbert did put Ethelfride uppon ye action by ye instigation of Austin ye bloodie moncke as it is cleere out of ye translation of Beds by King Alfred into ye Saxon tounge. howsoever ye Lattin copies haue it now quamvis ipsa jam multo ante tempore ad celestia regna translato, see Lisle in his Elfric. See Mason and Jewell. There was a great conspiracie of religion to destroye ye Britanes, and to this way allso Gildas was no small traitour.

They came with their flags and crosses and having converted him vnto his wives religion, he surrenders to them ye whole power of Canturbury and retires himself to Roculvers in Tenet, inciting blood and warre vpon ye Britains whoe would not

submitt themselves to ye insolent pride of ye Roman church. The Brittaines vnder ye Romans subsisted still bothe in lignage and landguadge, but ye Saxon Christianitie destroyed both men and wordes, according to ye Monks counsell vnto Philip king of France, yt he showld destroye all ye Greeks books as welf as their persons. See in Malmesburiensis à consideration of theis Saxons whether they were better men in their Christianitie or their gentlitie, for I much dowbte whether Rome makes Christianitie or manners.

In lignage and in landguadge. Austins worde
From Catnys to ye Mount putts all to swoard.
Foule sorceresse of Rome, I leaue thy heape
Of bloodie crimes to God's revendge and threape.
"Penigent, Pendle hill, Ingleborough,
Three such hills be not all England thorough."
I long to climb up Pendle: Pendle stands,
Rownd cop, survaijng all ye wilde moore lands,
And Malkins Toure, à little cottage, where
Reporte makes caitive witches meete to sweare
Their homage to ye divell, and contrive
The deaths of men and beasts. Lett whoe will dive
Into this banefull search, I wonder much
If judges sentence with belief on such
Doth passe: then sure thy would not for lewd* gaine
Bad clients fauour, or putt good to paine
Of long pursuite; for terrour of ye fiend
Or loue of God they would giue causes end
With equall justice. Yet I doe confesse,
Needs must strainge phansies poore ould wines possesse,
Whoe in those desert mystie moores doe liue
Hungrie and colde, and scarce see priest to giue
Them ghostlye counsell. Churches farre doe stand
In lay mens hands, and chappells haue no land
To cherish learned Curates, though Sir Jhon
Doe preach for foure pounds vnto Haselingdon.
Such yeerely rent, with right of hegging corne,
Makes Jhon à sharer in my Ladyes horne:
He drinks and prayes, and fortie yeeres this life
Leading at home keepes children and à wife.

As Cominens says of Princes they would not be extreme vppon their subjects if they did believe yt God tooke cognizance of their actions. So I say of judges. If they did thincke there were à Divell no earthly hope or feare could make them doe such things as in severall ages times complain of them. And however the truth be, those pooro wretches finde pittie and apologie from manye. Whence Ewich yt fee physician of Breme. Impiæ veneficæ quæ vulgo stryges appellantur, gravem quidem pœnam merentur, et si multis in locis nimis temere, et nonnunquam illegitime Liceat mihi id hoc loco obiter dicere, satis. enim hanc causam hodie viri eruditi disceptarunt tractari consueverunt, frigidam aut potius focū suffundente Molocho qui talibus holocaustis delectari solet.

An alewife so called. she hath ye horne of plentie according to all.

* Of ye French lawyers and judges wickednesse see ye great chancellour of France Michael Hospitalius in his epistle to Faber and to ye Cardinall of Loraine, to Marilliac ye Arch Bp. of Vienna.

Theis are ye wonders of our carelesse dayes:
Small store serves him whoe for ye people prayes.
But greater wonder calls me hence: ye deepe
Lowe spongie mosses yet remembrance keepe
Of Noahs flood: on numbers infinite
Of firre trees swaines doe in their cesses light;
And in summe places, when ye sea doth bate
Downe from ye shoare, tis wonder to relate
How many thowsands of theis trees now stand
Black broken on their rootes, which once drie land
Did cover, whence turfs Neptune yeelds to showe
He did not allways to theis borders flowe.
We reade in Cesar yt no firre trees griew
Within this Isle, if what he write be triew.
But sure I am, yt growing heere, or sent
With storme of seas, theis are an argument
That God, offended with earths crimes, did raine
Till all once drownd was in a hurling maine.
Hence, tis* Sarayna, yt on hills we finde
And inland quarries things of sea borne kinde,
Wilks, cockles, oysters: threescore miles from wale
Of sea at Conyngton was fownd à whale
Vppon à high downes, whose ribs and bones
With chance and time were turned into stones;
And ofte earths bosomme yeelds ye rich prizd hornes
Of counter-poyson sea-fish vnicornes.
What shall I speake of southerne yvorie
Which yet seas vast doth in Pechora lye?
Such changes doe from ye great deluge springe,
And fire shall all to ye oulde Chaos bringe.
Meane while ye works of nature and of arte
To view and weigh, it is my pleasinge parte.

You may see this at a place calld ye stocks in Worold.

Lib. v. de bello Gallico he says. Materia cujusque generis, vt in Gallia est, præter fagum atque abietem. And it seemes Cæsar did enquire all things of ye Countrye when in ye same place he could say Nascitur ibi plumbū album in mediterraneis regionibus. And theis mines were after much usd by ye Romans, whence at Castelton a Roman sepulcher lately found had much led ore in it.

Torellius Sarayna, Goropius, Palissi, and divers others have writt of this subject. See allso Fulgosius. Mr. Rowlt allso of Pertenhall in Bedfordshire hath ye rigg bone of a whale petrified found vnder ye arches of St. Neots bridge. he now vses it for a saltseller. See many like things in ye cabbinets of Hubbart and Tredescant, ye later of whome hath binne my fellowe traveller. For ye yvorie fownd in ye northerne partes of ye Russian Empire tis ye constant relation of ye woodmen there whoe goe forth at certaine times to kill beares wolves etc. and ye Emperour Rodolph's lapidarie Anselmus Boetius writes of ye petrified unicornes horne, which is ye horne of a fish, manie of which it seems ye fluds buried in ye maine land.

* See of theis things more in Septalius his treatise de margaritis, and Wernherus de admirandis Hungariæ aquis.

See Thevet's cosmographye where he hath a speciall discourse of ye vnicorne. But I doubt not but yt as

I Hubberts and Tredescants ernest prize.
Who not of second notions doe devize,
Where endles prate doth vainlye beate ye eare,
But to no worth our vnderstanding reare.
At Norton Abbye, now ye Brookses land,
Twice big as life Saint Christopher doth stand,
One giant stone, and in Hale chappell wee
Againe him painted with saint George do see
In ye East windowe. Hylin, lett thy penne
Once more from hence proone yt theis shews were men:
And I from Wickham, if he be not nesh,
Will fetch Saint Sunday to make vp a lesh
Of retrivd Saints; and George for Sunday stand,
Or els he feares ye strong Maypolian band.
Such things I sawe and thought, in Lancashire,
At Heywood hall to trading Rachdale neere.
My safe bould harbour Heywood, much I owe
Of praise and thanks to ye where ere I goe.
I love ye men, ye countrye, and ye fare,
And wish heere my poore fortunes setled were,
Far from ye courtes ambition, citties strife,
Reposd in silence of a countrye life,
Amongst ye Dingles and ye Apennines,
Whose safetye gaue occasion to ould lines
Thus riming, "When all England is alofte
Then happie they whose dwelling's in Christ's crofte,"
And where thincke you this crofte of Christe showld be
But midst Ribchesters Ribble and Mercy?
My passadge hether I not liste to tell,
Though then I sawe Saint Anne of Buckstones well
Hot with a chimney; for springs colde and warme
Rising together doe ye bathing harme.

others so he and his Turcke are deceivd in taking it for a land beast, when our North-east and Greenland discoveries have proovd this hornd beast to be a fish.

See in Aschams epistles how ye wiser Greeks take ye storye of St. George but for a resemblance, although now for a long time they worshippt him as a man with pistle and gospel and hollyday, for all which there is no more warrant than ye meere legend. According vnto which at this daye they showe pilgrims ye verie place where ye Kings daughter was deliverd and ye dragon slaine by him. See Mounsieur Brenis his relation, and other itineraries of ye holye lands, wherefore I maye not vnseemely parallel St. George with Saint Sundaye in ye South casement of Wickham Church.

At Casteltoun ye waters nature strainge,
Which in same day doe divers vertues chainge,
Long-sownding Elden hole, and Pooles vast caue,
The leadmens grooues who liues of mole-warps haue,
The loftie Winyates, and wall-tiding springe,
His worships breetch and mystes, I leaue to singe;
I leaue, because I finde my Muse to weake
To sing with arte ye wonders of ye Peke.
To my two hoasts of honour, Chetwyn, Crewe,
Whose feates and bountyes our returne did viewe;
To ye young heyre of Speke, in Stevens right
Whose old Sire did ye standards battle fight,
And from whose house and name of late were seene
Two chiefs of warre vnto our mayden Queene;
To Rigby of ye Hut, where to our cheere
We plentie had of clarett ale and beere;
To Sander Butterworth, whoe ledd me cleane
Through all ye cataracts of Healo dene;
To Robin* Howorth, from whose familie
Great Noble peers derive their progenie;
To Roman Nowell, Ashton of Penkith,
Ireland of Hale, to all my Heywoods, with
Brock, Holcroft, Holt, this journall poeme sends
Greeting and faire observance: — so it ends.

Hoc iter Lancastrense
fecit scripsitque
Richardus Jamesius Vectensis
An. Dñi. 1636.

Bothe auncient and moderne writers mention springs ebbing and flowing like ye sea, but they are deceivd. They indeede have vncertaine spaces of running and ceasing, but no constant course with ye sea: in Wales see ye like.

* The Howorths are a gentle familie according to Aristotle, because they haue had ἀρχαιον πλοῦτον being in Edw. ye 1. time preferd to be Lords of Howorth castle. yet in parliamentarie pardon of Henrye ye sixts time ye words runne thus, Relaxiuimus Thomæ de Haworth in coñ Lanc. yoman alias dcō Thomæ de Haw̄ de Rachedale in coñ Lanc. yoman, alias dcō Th. de Haw. de Todmerden in coñ Lanc. yoman, alias dcō Th. dē Haw. de Todmardene in com. Lanc. gentilman, quocunque nomine censeatur omnimodas transgressiones. Otherwise as themselves reporte they haue another name, at their comming in with ye conquerour.

Of Novellus Tricongius a Milanese read Plinie, lib. 14. cap. 22. accordingly this gentlemans armes are for sume hundreds of yeeres ye three cups. But ye vertues and auncient demeanes of their house giue them a fairre glorie. So yt I should not willingly fetch their pedigree from a drunkard and ye cups may rather be a signe of hospitalitye, three Chrismas cups for Noelle in French signifieth Christmas of which name there be allso gentle families.

NOTES.

L. 1. "*High holtt.*"] An enclosure, still used in provincial dialects for a small plantation; a wood or grove: — but see *Promptor. Parvul.* ed. Camden Soc., and Mr. Way's note thereon; vol. i. p. 244.

L. 1. "*haye.*"] From the Ang. Sax. hæg; a hedge or fence; a toil to inclose wild beasts in. — "Heywood is the wood abounding in streams of water, or bounded by them, as Heywood is on one side by the river Roch; or the wood inclosed by a paling; but probably the former, the earliest orthography of the word being Eywood," *i. e.* Eau-wood, as pronounced by the common people of Lancashire at this day. See Hunter's *Life of Oliver Heywood*, p. 3, note.

L. 4. "*Heywoods wombe and grave.*"] At this time the head of the house was Robert Heywood, (probably the author's friend,) son and heir of Peter Heywood, of Heywood Hall, Gent., by his wife Margery, daughter of Mr. —— Holland, of Rochdale, and relict of Roger Gartside, of Ewood Hall, near Haslingden, Gent.[1] — He rebuilt Heywood Hall in 1611, and is characterized by Oliver Heywood, who remembered him as an aged person, as "a pious, reverend old gentlemen, and an excellent Poet." See Hunter's

[1] In Dodsworth's MSS. the mother of Robert Heywood is described as "Margaret, cousin and coheir of Roger Garside." See Dodsw. MSS. in Bodl. Lib. vol. 79, fol. 59.

Life of Oliver Heywood, p. 4. With respect to the latter qualification, whatever may have been the result of Mr. Robert Heywood's acquaintance with the Muses, nothing whatever is known of his writing at the present day.

He died in 1645, having married Margaret, daughter and co-heiress of John Assheton, of Penketh, Gent., by whom he left issue three sons and two daughters. The eldest son, Peter, married his kinswoman Alice, daughter of John Greenhalgh, of Brandlesome Hall, Esq., Governor of the Isle of Man, and widow of Theophilus Holte, of Grizzlehurst, Esq. He was a Royalist, and in 1646 he compounded with the Parliament for his estates, paying £351, and died in 1657. The second son, Robert, was a layman in the second Lancashire Presbyterian Classis in 1646. And John, the third son, adhering to the principles of his father and elder brother, became Rector of Walton-on-the-Hill after the Restoration. He was of Christ Church College, Oxford, and was created D.D. Grand Compounder July 5th, 1666, 18th Car. II. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Olney, of Whitmarsh, in the county of Worcester, Gent., and was a great opponent of the Puritans. — See *Life of O. Heywood*, p. 197, note.

Of this family a meagre pedigree of five descents was recorded by Dugdale, which has since been considerably amplified in a private collection of Lancashire Pedigrees, by an antiquarian member of the Council of the Chetham Society. The last of the family who resided at Heywood Hall was Robert Heywood, who was afterwards in Holy Orders. It appears from some family papers, that in 1717 this "Robert Heywood of Heywood, Gent., son and heir of Peter Heywood, then late of Heywood, Esq. dec^{d}. who was son and heir of Robert Heywood, then also, late of Heywood, Esq. dec^{d}." in consideration of the sum of £1841 8*s*. 6*d*. sold the Hall and one hundred and fifteen acres of land in Heywood, and several other farms in Heap, Bury, and Middleton, to John Starky, of Rochdale, Gent., whose grandson, James Starky, Esq., is the present owner. The ancient family had been gradually declining in worldly circumstances, occasioned perhaps in part by their attachment to the Royalist cause; for the estate had been previously mortgaged by Robert Heywood the grandfather, and Peter his son, to the Rev. David Jenkins, D.D., and afterwards by mesne conveyances were vested in the Rev. Will. Assheton, B.D., of the Deyne, Rector of Prestwich, and the said John Starky, Attorney at Law. On the 11th of June, 1726, "Robert Heywood, then of the city of London, Clerk, covenanted that £600. left in the hands of Mr. Starky, and part of the purchase

money of the Heywood Hall Estate, should be sunk, in order to raise him an annuity of £50. to be paid by quarterly payments," "so that it might not be in the power of the said Heywood to mortgage, alien, or incumber the said annuity." In 1729, he became still further reduced, having contracted fresh debts, "and thereby involved himself in great difficulties," so that he requested Starky to advance him money to discharge his debts, proposing to permit Starky to retain £30 a year by quarterly payments, until the said principal and interest should be liquidated. And afterwards the whole annuity of £50 should be paid to Will. Bamford, of Bamford, Esq., Rev. Will. Assheton, Rev. Nathan Stock, of Rochdale, and James Haslom, of Falinge, merchant, for the use of the said Robert Heywood, "for his relief, support, and personal maintenance, by such weekly, monthly, quarterly, or other payments, as they, in their discretion, should think fit."

Robert Heywood afterwards retired to the Isle of Man, where he died without issue, some time previously to April 1742, as appears by a letter from Dr. Thomas Wilson, Bishop of Sodor and Man, annexed to an agreement.

Notwithstanding, however, their ancient patrimony in Lancashire was sold, and the fortunes of their ancestral house were thus under a cloud, other branches of the family, who were induced by the Earls of Derby to settle in the Isle of Man, rose to eminence there, and "filled the highest offices of trust and importance belonging to that singular political community, being Deemsters, Speakers of the House of Keys, one of them Attorney General," and another Governor of the Island.[1]

[1] This branch of the Heywood family were descended in direct line from Robert Heywood, the friend of James, who died in 1645.

Peter John Heywood, Esq., who was living at Whitehaven, in co. Cumberland, in 1782, and was one of the Deemsters of the Isle of Man, and Seneschal to his Grace the Duke of Athol, communicated an account of his family to Mr. Samuel Heywood, of Nottingham, (great grandson of Oliver Heywood,) in which he says that his father, Thomas, was Speaker of the House of Keys, and his grandfather, Peter, Attorney General, and his great grandfather, Robert, Governor of the Island. This Robert Heywood married for his first wife Mary Haslom, daughter and coheiress of ——Haslom, of Rochdale, Gent., by whom the direct line was continued. He had also a second wife, by whom he had six sons and six daughters, and dying at Heywood Hall, December 19th, 1702, was interred in the Parish Church of Bury, December 22d. A sister of Thomas Heywood, the Speaker, married one of the Christians, a considerable Manx family: and the two married sisters of Mr. Peter

Col. Rosworm in his interesting but angry Complaint against the Inhabitants of Manchester, relative to its siege by the Royalists in 1642, makes mention of Peter Heywood the son of Robert, as secretly employed by Prince Rupert to win him over to the Royal cause, and to induce him to betray the town: — "This Mr. Peter Heywood," says he, "who at this time

John Heywood were the wives of Capt. Holwell, son of Governor Holwell, and of Admiral Sir Thomas Pasley.

Mr. Peter John Heywood in 1782 had a family of five young children, (his eldest son, Thomas, having died young in 1770,) the names of whom were James, Peter, Elizabeth, Hester, and Mary. The eldest surviving son, James, appears to have died early, unmarried. Peter, who then became the head of this branch of the Heywood family, was a Post Captain in the navy, and a remarkable man. He was born at the Nunnery, near Douglas, on the 6th June, 1773, educated at Nantwich in Cheshire, and, at the early age of 15, entered the naval service of his country as a midshipman on board the Bounty, which was sent out by government for the purpose of conveying the Bread Fruit and other useful plants from the South Sea Islands to the West Indies. The melancholy issue of this voyage is very generally known, in the unhappy discord which arose between the commander and his men, and the piratical seizure of the vessel by a part of her crew. Young Heywood, although perfectly innocent of any share in the transaction, was then considered one of the mutineers, and, after undergoing almost incredible hardships and sufferings, was brought to England, tried by a court-martial, and lay for some time under sentence of death. He was, however, afterwards reprieved, and became a very gallant officer, being employed for many years, with honour and distinction to himself, in the service of his country. The details of this eventful affair are well known to our readers, as there is an octavo volume, entitled "*A Memoir of the late Captain Peter Heywood, R.N., with Extracts from his Diaries and Correspondence,*" containing all the particulars, published after his death by Edward Tagart, in 1832; and a more popular work, "*The Eventful History of the Mutiny of the Bounty,*" written by Sir John Barrow, Bart., the late Secretary to the Admiralty, forming the 25th Number of the "*Family Library,*" a work which, from the truthful simplicity and pathos of the narrative, the account of the manly firmness and heroic fortitude of the youthful Heywood throughout his extraordinary and unmerited sufferings — and the beautiful and affectionate letters and occasional poetry of his most amiable and warm-hearted sister, — will always attract the interest of the reader. Capt. Heywood retired from public life in 1816, after having been actively employed at sea for more than twenty-seven years, in which he had distinguished himself as a scientific, intelligent, and honourable member of his profession. In the same year he married Frances, the sole daughter of Francis Simpson, Esq., of Plean-House, in the county of Stirling, North Britain, who survived her husband. Capt. Heywood lived for many years in retirement in the environs of London, dying

sits at his ease, and enjoys his own, whilst I for the want of it endure extreem miserie, was a Captaine in Lancashire for the Parliament, was often in our private consultations; and by holding intelligence with the Enemy, did us much mischief. He went oft to Chester, Oxford, and other Garrisons of the Enemy, discovering our secret results. This being at length found out, and proved against him, he was secured by the Committee, and yet without the consent of the rest of the Committee, contrary to an ordinance touching such cases, released by Col. Holland; two of his friends also being bound for his appearance, which never was questioned; though he presently upon his enlargement went to the Enemy, and was afterwards thought the onely fit instrument to work me to this treacherie. His method was, first to take advantage of the injurious and most unthankfull unworthinesse, which the Town had used towards me, stirring those passions in me which he knew were deeply provoked. This done, he offered in behalf of Prince Rupert, that I should have great preferments under Prince Rupert; besides the perpetuall obligations of affection and honour from many most noble friends, which I should look upon as purchased by the desert of such seasonable and usefull service.

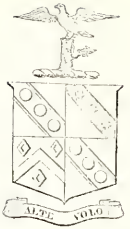
"I was not so little a fool, though I never meant to be a knave, but I gave the propounder audience, to give some encouragement to the businesse, so much as to fish out which way the Enemy would lay the stratagem, and, to secure myself from suspicion on their part, appointed them a time of receiving their hopes. And I must needs say, I could with more ease have sold them, man, woman, and child, with all they had into their Enemies' hands than at any time I could have preserved them; but, alas, I should then have been a Manchester man, for never let an unthankfull man, and a promise breaker, have another name." Rosworm was not to be induced by

without issue on the 10th February, 1831, in the 58th year of his age. His father had, however, some brothers; but whether any of these left issue we are unable to say.

Other branches of the family settled in the West Indies, one of whom, Peter Heywood, was one of the Councillors of Jamaica, and married Grace, daughter of Sir John Muddeford, Bart.

For this information we are chiefly indebted to the kindness of the Rev. Joseph Hunter, F.S.A.; and for further particulars concerning other branches of this ancient family, the reader may consult that gentleman's valuable and interesting *Life of Oliver Heywood*.

Pedigree of Heywood of Heywood.



Peter de Heywood of Heywood, ob. 13 Edw. I. = Adam de Burgo of Bury, grants land to Heywood, in the Barcar Rent, 7 Edw. Peter de Heywood, whose descendants continued upon them down to the 16th century.

Robert de Heywood of Heywood, living in 1 Edw. III. 1327.

William Heywood of Heywood, grants lands in Bury to Richard his brother and his heirs, 18 Edw. III. 1345.

Richard Heywood of Heywood. =

Richard Heywood, Vicar of Eccles, Henry V.

Nicholas Heywood of Heywood, grants to John de Radcliffe of Ordsall, all his lands in Heywood, Bury, and Middleton, 39 Edw. III. 1365.

Robert Heywood of Heywood, obt. Henry Bardsley of Manchester, 10 Henry IV. 1408, lands in Heywood, 5 Hen. V. 1416, same to John son of John Heywood of Heywood, Alice, Henry son of Will. Bottler, 12 Will. Nicholl of Bottler, Gent., 20 Jan. 23 Eliz. IV. 1581.

Geoffrey Heywood of Heywood living in Henry V. 1409, = he has a dau. Alice living 1 Hen. VI. 1422, by Robert Langshaw, that both Heywood and Langshaw, or some of the Langshaws, were sons of Nicholas Heywood, father of the said Geoffrey, in the township of Bury and Middleton, that they had property in Pilsworth, and that Geoffrey and his heir were by Margt. his wife, daughter and heir of Sir Robt. Tunnicliffe, = Hen. VI. 14..

Piers or Peter Heywood of Heywood, Gent., ob. 23rd Nov. 29 Henry VIII. 1538. = Margaret, daughter of Robert Tunnicliffe.

James Heywood, 34 Hen. VI., 1456.

Nicholas Heywood.

Robert Heywood, of Heywood, Gent., ob. s.p. and seized of Heywood, Pilsworth, and Bank-house, 4th Sept. 5 Hen. VIII. — Inq. Post Mort., 30 Henry VIII.

Nicholas Heywood

Geoffrey Heywood.

James Heywood, yeoman, son of Piers, 1538

Peter Heywood, of Heywood, Gent., ob. 1st Sept. 1552, in the Inq. p.m. Mort. of John Heywood, Gent., 2nd Mary, and Inq. p.m. Hen. VIII. 1st Edw. VI. 1547.

Peter Heywood of Heywood, Gent., = Margaret, daughter of Mr Adam Rawstorne of Lower Hall, par. Bury, a Justice of Peace, Recorder of Newcastle, 3 and 4 Philip and Mary.

Agnes, daughter of James Heywood. = John, son and heir of Thomas Hardwick of Hulme Hall, par. Manchester, by Margaret, d. of Sir John Trafford, ob. 1563, and buried at Manchester.

Peter Heywood of Heywood, Gent., ob. 1st Sept. 1552, and buried at Bury 14th Feb. [illegible] — Inq. Post Mort., 34 Eliz. = Margaret, daughter and coheir of Sir Adam Rawstorne of Lower Hall, Knt., ob. 1st Sept. 1575, and buried at Bury 15th Dec. 1575. — Inq. Post Mort., 18 Eliz.

Robert Heywood of Heywood, Gent., ob. s.p. 1st Sept. 1586, and buried at Bury 14th Feb. 1586. — Margaret, daughter and coheir of Sir Adam Rawstorne of Lower Hall, Knt., ob. 30th March, 1591, and buried at Bury 2nd April, 1591. — Inq. Post Mort., 34 Eliz. — Sir Humfrey Ellis, Knight, ob. 1st Sept. 1591, aged 60 years. — Will dated 1st Sept. 1591. — Proved 14th Oct. 1591. — Buried at Bury 15th Oct. 1591.

Dorothy Heywood = Peter Heywood of Westwood, Gent., ob. 1st Sept. 1622, and buried at Bury 3rd Sept. 1622. = Elizabeth, daughter of [illegible] of Lathom, co. Lancaster.

Ann Heywood, = John Heywood of Bolraft, ob. 1st Sept. 1624. — Bolraft, co. Lancaster.

Mary. = Rev. Peter Shaw, M.A., Rector of Ladybrook.

Elizabeth. = Adam Holte, of Lower Place, near Rochdale, Gent. Will dated 20 Feb. 1st Jac.

Deborah

Edith.

Grace.

Caleb, son of Peter Heywood, bur. 5th Sept. 1600

William Heywood of Westminster, ob. circa 1604.

Thomas Heywood of Westminster, Esq., grant of the Isle of Man and closed Letters to James, Duke of [illegible]

Frances, daughter of Thomas Sayers, D.D., Prebendary of Westminster, author to the Brothers Wrong Scheme

Catherine. = David Barton of co. Southampton, Clerk.

Peter Heywood of Westminster, = Grace Arnsby and Mary Fitzgerald, ob. 1st Sept. 1638, aged 60 years, ob. 1st Sept. 1638, aged 60 years, ob. 1st Sept. 1638, aged 60 years

the offers of Mr. Peter Heywood to betray his party, but disclosed the whole design of the enemy and remained true to his cause.

Mr. Ormerod, in a Biographical note, p. 345, of his "*Civil War Tracts*," printed for the Chetham Society, states this Peter Heywood to be of Manchester, and the son of Peter Heywood, of Heywood, a Lancashire magistrate, concerned in the apprehension of Guy Fawkes, and afterwards stabbed in Westminster Hall by a Dominican Friar, and refers to Palmer's *Siege*, p. 83, and Baines's *Hist.* ii. 676. But there is here a confusion of persons. In the Lancashire Pedigrees, Peter the second son of Peter Heywood, of Heywood, Gent., is stated to have lived in London, was a Justice of Peace and Lawyer, and was celebrated for his persecution of the Roman Catholics, one of whom, a Jesuit, of the name of John James, a Kentish man, stabbed him in Westminster Hall, in 1640.[1] He was *uncle* of Peter Heywood, who in 1649, according to Rosworm, "sits at his ease and enjoys his own," although the disappointed Engineer omits naming that the Parliament had, in 1646, fined Heywood in £351 as a malignant. Rosworm's statement is clearly applicable to Peter the son and heir of Robert Heywood, of Heywood, and not to Peter the brother of Robert.

No Pedigree of this family has been given by Baines in his *History of the County of Lancaster*, and as we are not aware that any account of the different descents has ever been published, it may perhaps be interesting to our readers to be able to trace them in the accompanying Pedigree on the other side, which has been drawn up with great care, assisted by much valuable information afforded by several antiquarian friends.

L. 6. "*Kinde,*"] *i. e.* by nature. See marginal note.

[1] In a scarce little tract, entitled "*The Rat-Trap: or, the Jesuites taken in their owne Net, &c. Imprinted* 1641," in the Editor's possession, there is a curious woodcut of this circumstance, representing John James in the act of stabbing Mr. Justice Heywood "with a rusty dagger in Westminster Hall, as he was going to the Parliament House, to deliver up a catalog of divers Papists and Jesuits names which inhabited in or about Westminster, who being commanded, according to his office, to give notice thereof, for the good of his King and Country, was violently assaulted and stabbed in the side, thinking to have deprived him of his life, which God be thanked, proved otherwise." The tract was probably written by that voluminous author Thomas Heywood. See Clarendon's *Hist. Rebell.* v. i. book iii. p. 196. fol. ed. 1707.

L. 7. "*Bookland.*"] See marginal note.

L. 9. "*Deliver gift of Berries Lord,*" &c.] The original charter by which Adam de Burgo, or Adam de Berry, or Bury, the chief lord of the fee in which Heywood is contained, gave land to Peter de Heywood, runs as follows: —

"Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Adam de Byry dedi et concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Petro de Hewode et heredibus suis pro homagio suo et servitio unam partem terræ que vocatur Hewode infra has divisas incipiendo ad Golden et sic sequendo Golden usque in aquam de Ratch et sic sequendo Rache ascendendo usque ad Heedene et sic sequendo Heedene ascendendo usque ad metam Adæ de Byry et Rogeri de Midleton Tendñ et heñdum de me et heredibus meis sibi et heredibus suis libere et quiete et hereditarie cum omnibus pertinentiis tantæ terræ pertinentibus et cum communibus easiamentis villæ de Hewode Reddendo annuatim mihi et heredibus meis ipse et heredes sui duos solidos argenti ad festum Sancti Oswald regis pro omnibus servitiis et demandis exceptis . . . nisi sit in bosco et si ita contingat quod porci Adæ de Byry proprii veniunt in tempora pascendi infra boscum de Hewode dictus Petrus cito debet removere prædictos porcos sine parcamento de bosco suo. Ego vero Adam de Byry et heredes mei dictam terram sicut prædictum est dicto Petro et heredibus suis contra omnes homines et fæminas in perpetuum warrantizabimus. Et ut hæc mea donatio rata sit et stabilis sigilli mei appositione istum scriptum roboravi Hiis testibus Domino Galfrido de Chetcham, Alexandro de Pilkington, Thoma de Prestwich, Rogero de Midleton, Willõ Clerico de Forresta, Rogero de Walmisley, Galfrido de Radclive, Willõ de Radclive, Ricardo de Notehoe, Adã de Haslam, Gilberto de Brandollisholme et multis aliis."

The author in his Poem seems to refer the date of this charter to so early a period as the reign of Henry II. But Mr. Hunter, probably with more correctness, says, that it "cannot be referred to a period later than the first fifteen years of Edward the First." See *Life of O. Heywood*, p. 2. The original grant from Adam de Bury, the foundation of the evidences of the Heywood estate, was, in 1782, in the possession of Peter John Heywood, of Whitehaven, Esq., one of the Deemsters of the Isle of Man.

L. 14. Note. "*Frankelin.*"] As there is a better reading of this passage

in Tyrwhitt's Edit., we quote from thence the whole character of the Frankelin: —

"A Frankelein was in this compagnie; *l.* 333.
White was his berd, as is the dayesie.
Of his complexion he was sanguin,
Wel loved he by the morwe a sop in win.
To liven in delit was ever his wone,
For he was Epicures owen sone,
That held opinion, that plein delit
Was verraily felicite parfite.
An housholder, and that a grete was he;
Seint Julian he was in his contree.
His brede, his ale, was alway after on;
A better envyned man was no wher non.
Withouten bake mete never was his hous,
Of fish and flesh, and that so plenteous,
It snewed in his hous of mete and drinke,
Of alle deintees that men coud of thinke,
After the sondry sesons of the yere,
So changed he his mete and his soupere.
Ful many a fat partrich hadde he in mewe,
And many a breme, and many a luce in stewe.
Wo was his coke, but if his sauce were
Poinant and sharpe, and redy all his gere.
His table dormant in his halle alway
Stode redy covered alle the longe day.
At sessions ther was he lord and sire
Ful often time he was knight of the shire.
An anelace and a gipeiere all of silk
Heng at his girdel, white as morwe milk.
A shereve hadde he ben, and a countour.
Was no wher swiche a worthy vavasour." *l.* 362.

Tyrwhitt's Edit. of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales.
2d Edit. 4to. Oxford, 1798.

L. 17. "*Fulchis of Crewe in Cheshire*," &c.] Sir Robert Foulshurst, or Fulleshurst, Knt a younger brother of the house of Foulshurst, of Edlaston in Cheshire, in the time of Edward III., married Elizabeth, daughter and sole heiress of Thomas Praers, of Barthomley, who brought the manor of Crewe and other estates to him. He was one of the four Esquires of Lord Audley at the battle of Poictiers, Sept. 19, 1356, who divided amongst them the present of five hundred marks, which he received

from the hands of the Black Prince for his valour.[1] Sir Robert died in the 13th of Rich. II. 1390, and was interred in Barthomley church, on the north side of the chancel of which still exists his recumbent figure in armour, on an ornamented altar-tomb, with numerous figures at the side; an engraving of which may be seen in Lysons's *Hist. Cheshire*, p. 447. This is the person of whom the author here speaks, but of the tradition mentioned by him, we are unable to furnish any account.

L. 27. "*So Talbot Frances terrour.*"] John Talbot, first Earl of Shrewsbury, surnamed for his bravery the English Achilles; of whom Hall in his *Chronicle* says: — "This man was to the French people a very scourge and a daily *terror*, insomuch that as his person was fearful and terrible to his adversaries present, so his name and fame was spiteful and dreadful to the common people absent; insomuch that women in France, to feare their young children, would crye, the *Talbot* cometh, the *Talbot* cometh." And Edward Kirke, in his Glosse or Commentary on Spenser's *Shepheardes Calendar*, 4to, 1579, remarks, in his notes on the month of June, that "the Frenchmen used to say of that valiaunt captayne, the verie scourge of Fraunce, the Lorde of Thalbot, afterwarde Erle of Shrewsburie, whose noblenesse bred such a terrour in the heartes of the French, that oft tymes euen great armyes were defaicted and put to flight at the only hearing of hys name. In so muche that the French women, to affraye theyr children woulde tell them that the *Talbot* commeth." See also York's *Union of Honour*, p. 72. *Battels.* — Thus Shakespeare:

> "In open market-place produc'd they me,
> To be a publick spectacle to all;
> Here, said they, is the terror of the French,
> The scarecrow that affrights our children so."
> *K. Henry* VI. Pt. i. act i. sc. 4.

> "The scourge of France!
> —— The Talbot, so much feared abroad,
> That with his name the mothers still their babes."
> *K. Henry* VI. Pt. i. act ii. sc. 3.

The names of the four Esquires who attended James, Lord Audley, at the Battle of Poictiers, on the 19th of September, 1356, were Sir John Delves, of Doddington, Sir Thomas Dutton, of Dutton, Sir Robert Foulhurst, of Crewe, and Sir John Hawkestone, of Wrinehill. See Ashmole's *Hist. of the Garter*; Froissart's *Chron.*, by Johnes, vol. ii. p. 322. Their names are not mentioned by Froissart.

L. 27. "*dide.*"] *i. e.* died. From his mother, Ankaret, or Ancaretta, daughter and eventually heiress of John Le Strange, (by Mary, daughter of Richard Earl of Arundel, &c.,) Lord Talbot inherited the great property of the Le Stranges, of Blackmere, near Whitchurch, in the county of Salop, "and it was from this," as Mr. Blakeway has justly remarked, "and not from the town its capital, that the title of this distinguished warrior was originally designed to be taken, though the subsequent usage of his descendants has denominated them Earls of Shrewsbury." In an extremely scarce work, called "*The Mansion of Magnanimitie*," by Richard Crompton, 4to. b. l. 1599, which the Editor has in his possession, the author in his 5th chapter, describing the valiant services of the noble house of Talbot, and particularly of the present hero at Mans and other places in France, observes: — "Was not John Lord Talbot, for his approued prowesse and tried valiancy performed in the warres of France, created Earle of Shrewsburie, about the nineteenth yeare of Henry the sixt, and after sent againe with 3000 men into Normandie for the better defence thereof, who neither forgot his duty, nor forflowed his businesse, but daily labored, and hourely studied how to molest and indanger his enemies? Did not the Kings Counsell then send the said Earle with an army into Aquaitaine at the earnest sute of the magistrates and inhabitants of the citie of Burdeaux, who receiued him and his power into that citie by a posterne gate, where they slue many of the Captaines, and others of the Frenchmen, and so was Burdeaux taken by the said Earle, which he fortified, and after rode into the countrey thereabout, and obtained divers cities and townes without dint of sword. And among others, did he not take the strong towne of Castillon in Perigot? where the French King whē he understood thereof, assembled twenty thousand men, and entered into Aquataine, (where Castillon is,) and besieged the said towne of Castillon with a strong siege: whereupon the Earle of Shrewsburie assembled 800 horsemen and 5000 footmen, and went to the rescue of the said towne, in which battell very valiantly he behaued himselfe, and there was slaine with a small shot: and this was the end of this noble Earle, after he had with much honor, more fame, and great renowne, serued his Prince in warres foure and twenty years in France, and was honorably interred amongst them, on whose Tombe is engrauen as followeth: —'Here lieth the right noble night, Iohn Talbot Earle of Shrewsbury, Washford, Waterford, and Valence, Lord Talbot of Goodrige, and Urchenfield, Lord Strange of the Black meere, Lord

Verdon of Alton, Lord Crumwell of Wingfield, Lord Louetoft of Worksop, Lord Furniuall of Sheffield, Lord Faulconbridge, Knight of the Most Noble Order of S. George, S. Michaell, and the Golden Fleece, Great Marshall to King Henry the sixt of his realme of France:—who died in the battell of Burdeaux in the year of our Lord 1453.'"

The circumstance of the venerable Earl's death, together with that of his son, John Talbot, Viscount Lisle, at the siege of Chastillon, on the 7th of July, 1453, may be gathered from the Chronicles of Hall and Monstrelet. Dugdale relates that he was buried at Rouen, in Normandy, but was afterwards removed and reinterred at Whitchurch, in Shropshire. Leland also says; "This John Talbot had among his brethren one caullid Gilbert Talbot, after a knight of fame, the which buried the Erle his grandfathers bones brought out of Fraunce at Whitchirche in a fair Chappelle, where he is also buried hymself."—Whether his bones were removed from France or not, it is certain that his heart was brought here for interment. In rebuilding the present church at Whitchurch in 1712, the urn was found which contained his heart embalmed in a crimson velvet covering: and the Editor has in his possession two curious relics of horn edged with silver, with the images of our Saviour and the Virgin Mary stamped upon them, which were taken out of the urn at that time. They belonged to the beads of the great Lord Talbot, and were enclosed in a crimson velvet purse in the urn. They were taken out by a Mr. Maisterson, who was Churchwarden at that period, by whom the urn, with the rest of its contents, was restored to its original resting place.

There is a monument still existing to his memory preserved out of the ruins of the old Church at Whitchurch It is a recumbent stone figure of a knight in armour, a profile and front view of which is engraved in Stothard's *Monumental Effigies*, p. 96, whose brother in law, Mr. A. J. Kemp, remarks, that "the face, as far as we can judge from its fractured condition, possessed fine character: the wrinkled forehead, and sunk cheek of age are ably expressed by the sculptor. The earl wears the mantle of the Garter, of which he was a knight. The tassets of his armour and cuisses are fluted. The greaves are broken away. His feet rest upon a couchant talbot or hound." A writer in the *Gent. Mag.* has remarked that "there are only four monuments of this description now perfect in England, which are excellent specimens of the style of monumental architecture in the latter part of the reign of Henry VI. and that of Edward IV. One is in the

Beauchamp Chapel at Warwick, over Richard Earl of Warwick, ob. 1439. The second is in Salisbury Cathedral, over Lord Hungerford, ob. 1455. The third is at Great St. Helen's Church, London, to Sir John Crosby, ob. 1475. The fourth is at Whitchurch, Salop, over John Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury, the Achilles of his day, ob. 1453. On the recumbent figure of Shrewsbury, is a long mantle or cloak decorated in front of the left shoulder with the Order of the Garter. Crosby has a mantle over the armour. The others have none and are plain."

L. 28. "*Because they would not from their fellowes ride.*"] It is probable that the author, in this passage, had in view the affecting scene between Talbot and his son, described by Shakespeare in the First Part of *King Henry* VI. act iv, scene 5. It is thus alluded to by Yorke, in his *Union of Honour*: — "It is said by some, that when they were in this fight," at the siege of Chastillon, "and that the Earle John perceived that he could not escape, hee admonished his sonne, the Lord Lisle, to fly, saying, thou mayest revenge my death afterwards, unto whom he answered, it shall never be said, that your sonne shall flie, whilst his father is fighting." See Yorke's *Union of Honour*, p. 266, ed. 1640.

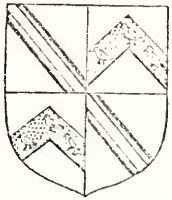
L. 33. "*Ashton of Middleton to y^e I went*," &c.] The Assheton of Middleton here spoken of was Ralphe Assheton, Esq. M. P., the celebrated Parliamentary Commander and General of the Lancashire Forces. He was the son and heir of Richard Assheton, Esq., by his wife, Mary, daughter of Thomas Venables, Esq., Baron of Kinderton, in Cheshire, and was born about 1605. In his minority he was contracted to, and in 1623 married, Elizabeth, only daughter of John Kaye, of Woodsome, in the county of York, Esq., by whom he had three sons and three daughters. He was called to the Bar as a Bencher of Gray's Inn, London, August 13, 1639, and was Knight of the Shire at the commencement of the Civil Wars. He was afterwards actively engaged in the service of the Parliament, by whom he was appointed to the command of the militia of the county, and made Major-General; and dying in 1650, was buried with his ancestors, in their private chapel within Middleton church, according to the Register of Burials, on the 25th February, 1650, in the 45th year of his age. See Whitaker's *Whalley*, p. 523, third edition, and Mr. Ormerod's *Civil War Tracts*, p. 337, who, relying on Whitaker, has given the date of 1652

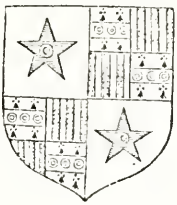
as that of his death. But in the Register Book, the entry is made thus: —

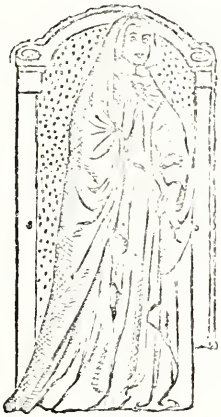
"Ralphe Assheton of Middleton, Esq., Major Generall, &c., was buried 25 February, 1650."

The Poet might also have been intimate with William Assheton, M.A., a younger brother of the above, who was at this time Rector of Middleton, and one of the Presbyterian Committee of Ordination; of whom see Martindale's character of him, and Mr. Parkinson's Note thereon. — *Life of Adam Martindale*, p. 59. The Parliamentary Commander lies buried under a black marble slab, beneath a flight of stairs leading to a gallery in the south aisle of the church. On the slab are two fine brasses, in excellent preservation, containing effigies of the Colonel and his wife, Elizabeth Kaye, of Woodsome. He is clothed in complete armour, with his sword unsheathed at his side, and a truncheon in his right hand; while the lady is represented in the flowing costume of the period. On a shield over his head are these arms: Quarterly first and fourth, argent, a mullet sable, charged with an annulet, or, for Ashton; second and third, quarterly first and fourth, ermine on a fesse, gules, three annulets, or, for Barton; second and third, paly of six, argent and azure. Over the lady are these: Quarterly first and fourth, argent, two bends, sable, for Kaye; second and third on a chevron, or, three rooks. — Beneath the figures, the inscription in capital letters, as given in the woodcut on the next page, is engraved on a brass plate on the slab. Below this inscription, on the same stone, are two other small brasses, representing the children of the above, which are partly hidden from sight by the foot of the stairs.

A few years ago, this monument was entirely concealed from the public view by the boarding on the side of the stairs, and was made a receptacle for old carpets, matting, brushes, and every sort of filth; but the present Rector has very judiciously removed the boarding, with all its dirty accumulations, and thrown the monument open to sight. He is also laudably employed in the preservation and repair of other portions of his church, in which his excellent taste and judgment have appeared equally conspicuous. Mr. Thomas Barritt, the antiquary, of Manchester, in the year 1782, made an etching of the figure of Col. Assheton from this monument, and the accompanying woodcut is reduced from an accurate tracing of the







MEMORIÆ SACRVM
RADVLPHI ASSHETON ARMIGERI, DOMINI DE MIDLETON, PII IN DEVM PATRIAM ET SVOS, COPIARVM OMNIVM IN AGRO LANCASTRENSI (SVPREMI SENATAS AVTHORITATE CONSCRIPTARVM) PRÆFECTI FORTIS ET FIDELIS, QVI CVM E CONJVGE SVA ELIZBETHA (FILIA IOHANNIS KAYE DE WOODSOME IN COM. EBORACENS ARMIGERI) SVSCEPISSET FILIOS TRES, RICHARDVM, RADVLPHVM, IOHANNEM, TOTIDEMQ. FILIAS ELIZABETHAM, MARIAM, ANNAM, OBDORMIVIT IN IESV 17 FEB. ANNO DOMINI 1650, ÆTATISQ. SVÆ 45 CVRRENTE.

same, lent to the Editor by the kindness of the Rev. Thomas Vere Bayne, M.A., incumbent of Broughton.

L. 34. "*From my deere Heywood.*"] There is something more than meets the eye in this affectionate notice of Heywood by James. It is difficult to conjecture how he should have become acquainted with the family of the Heywoods at all, still more how so close an intimacy should have grown up between them. This is a point which we have not been able to solve; but it might possibly arise from John, the son of Robert Heywood, and the future Rector of Walton, being sent to Oxford, and placed under the care of James, both being of the same College.

L. 36. "*The fairnesse of thy seate.*"] Middleton Hall, being the original manor house, and the ancient residence of the Asshetons, is situated a little to the south of the church, and has capacious barns and other appurtenances on a large scale, contiguous to it. It was an ancient structure, erected at different periods, those parts built anterior to the time of Henry VIII. being of lath and plaster, and the recent and more substantial parts of stone. The south front, of red brick, was added by the first Lord Suffield about forty years ago, and is devoid of all architectural character. A panelled dining-room, with an ornamental oak chimney-piece, and some remarkable arabesques on the plaster ceilings of some of the rooms, still remain in their original state.[1] A few portraits of the Assheton family were lately permitted to adorn the walls, although it is said that the greater part of them were given away in the neighbourhood of Middleton by the late Lord Suffield. The ancient park or demesne, attached to the residence, is now converted into farms.

[1] Since the above note was written, Middleton Hall has been stripped of its furniture, the materials of the building sold, the whole of it pulled down, and the land upon which the house and garden stood, let for building factories upon. *Stat nominis umbra.* In the ancient panelled dining-room was found a large stone chimney-piece, bearing the date of 1587, at each corner of which was carved the figure of a wild boar's head. The tradition of the place is, that these heads were in memory of a wild boar which attacked a lady in the early part of the fifteenth century, who was then the owner of the Middleton estate, and who narrowly escaped the danger.

The male line of the Assheton family became extinct in 1766, by the death of Sir Ralph Assheton, Bart., without male issue, when Middleton Hall, together with the manor of Middleton and other adjoining property, came into the possession of Harbord Harbord, of Gunton, in the county of Norfolk, Esq., afterwards created Baron Suffield, of Suffield, in the same county, who had married Mary, one of the daughters and co-heiresses of Sir Ralph Assheton; the late Sir Thomas Egerton, Bart., of Heaton, afterwards Earl of Wilton, and grandfather of the present Earl, marrying the other daughter. The present Lord Suffield, owner of Middleton, is the fourth in succession from the first proprietor.

L. 40. "*Mounted rppon thy horses we did rome.*"] The Author's head quarters are at Heywood; his first excursion is to Middleton, and to the Roman road near Hollinwood.

L. 41. "*A Roman waye high cast yet standing.*"] This is the Roman road near Hollinwood, about three miles from Middleton: the description is too accurate and minute to admit of doubt. It forms part of the road leading from Manennium to Cambodunum, which is so admirably traced and described in Whitaker's *Hist. of Manchester*.

In the *Archæol.*, vol. i. art. xv. p. 62, 4to, 1770, is part of a letter from Thomas Percival, Esq., dated Royston, (*i. e.* Royton Hall, near Oldham,) July 6, 1760, relating to a Roman road, which he had traced, with the Rev. John Watson, the Historian of Halifax, from Manchester to Yorkshire, by Kirklees. He thinks Clifton or Kirklees, the *Cambodunum* of the ancients, the Roman camp being between Clifton and Kirklees. He alludes to a camp of large size, and many other proofs of a station, at Castleshaw, in Saddleworth. Watson afterwards seems to have proved satisfactorily that the Cambodunum of the Romans was situated at *Slack*, near Huddersfield, where a splendid Hypocaust, and other veritable Roman relics, have been discovered.—See *Hist. Halifax*.

Her Majesty's Ordnance Surveyors, in the progress of their work, lately discovered portions of this road, in an excellent state of preservation, on the edge of White Moss, in the township of Failsworth.

L. 44. "*Condignly.*"] Deservedly, according to merit.

L. 48. "*y^e race of Wallisee.*"] *Race*, Cursus, "a strong or rapid current of water, or the channel or passage for such a current, as a Mill-race." Webster's *Dict.* Thus Portland Race. — "A Race (for Men and Horses to run in) Stade, Race. A Horse-Race, Carriere." — Randle Cotgrave's *French-Engl. Dict.*, by Howel, fol. 1650. Rese, reuse, Gigas, à verbo rijsen, id est, in altum surgere. — *Joan. Beccan.* Kiliani *Etymol. Teut. Ling.* 4to. 1777. — See the side note. Sir Walter Scott, in his Notes to *Rokeby*, p. 319, derives Risingham as James does. See also Davies's *Celtic Researches*, p. 527.

Dr. Holme informs me that at Shap in Westmoreland there are, or were, two rows of large upright stones, placed at regular distances, running parallel with the turnpike road for nearly three quarters of a mile, called there Shap *Race*, and in a work, the name of which he cannot at present recollect, Shap *Giants*. The remains of the Ancient Britons at Stonehenge are also frequently called the Stonehenge *Giants*. This seems to confirm James's side note on the Teutonic origin of the word *reus*.

It is possible that *Shap Race* might obtain its name from being supposed (locally) to have been a British *Cursus*. If so named from its *stones*, their gigantic size might have something to do with the conjectured etymology, and so in that case *might* such stones at Wallesey, if they had ever existed, but we are not aware that such was ever the case.

But the most probable idea is, and in this conjecture I am supported by the opinion of Mr. Ormerod, that "y^e *race* of Wallisee" means simply Wallesey Race Course, in the present popular sense; and that James meant only to say that the Roman roads were as clean and unincumbered as such courses. The reader will find this Wallesey Race Course mentioned in Ormerod's *Hist. Chesh.*, vol. ii. p. 262, with reference to Webb's description of the Races there, vol. ii. p. 195. col. 1. whose *Itinerary of Cheshire* was composed about a dozen years before the Poem of James.

This appears to be the meaning of the word in the *Life of Adam Martindale*, p. 227. "That summer the Duke of Monmouth came into Cheshire to Wallasie-Race, and thence to Rock Savage," &c. The Duke of Monmouth visited Cheshire in 1682, and then attended the Races at Wallesey; in 1683 he again was present at them, in August, (see extract from Cowper's MSS. in *Hist. of Chesh.*, vol. i. p. 210.) when the riots took place, which were alluded to in the presentations at the following assizes. — See *Hist. Chesh.*, vol. i. p. xlii.

L. 48. "*Wallisee.*"] Wallesey, in the hundred of Wirral, in Cheshire.—See Webbe's *Itinerary*, printed in Ormerod's *Cheshire*, vol. ii. p. 195; and the same, vol. ii. p. 261.

L. 50. "*Now worcks of Giants deemd.*"] The side note here commencing "Peradventure thence," &c., appears not so much to refer to the word *race*, as to the "worcks of Giants," and may be understood thus: "theirs," viz. the roads of the Romans, "are now deemed works of giants, not art of men;" and perhaps from this vulgar idea the people "in the North have called a Roman fort Reisingham," (looking to the Teutonic etymology of the name,) and "old stories erroneously talk of ancient cities being inhabited by *giants*."

L. 52. "*halydoms.*"] This word refers here to "tombs," as sanctuaries or depositories of holy relics.—See Bosworth's remarks on Haligdom, in voce, *Ang. Sax. Dict.* 34. "Sanctuary" is there given as its primary sense.

L. 55. "*Now goe we to ye church of Middleton,*
To finde out there some glorye of our owne."]

The parish church of Middleton was built in the year 1524, by Sir Richard Assheton, Knt. of Middleton, who married Anne, daughter of Sir Robert Foulshurst, of Crewe, in the county of Chester, as appears from an inscription on the south side of the building which records this event:

Ricardus Assheton et Anna uxor ejus. Anno D'ni. MDXXIIII.

This Sir Richard Assheton was the person who led the Middleton archers to the battle of Flodden Field, in 1513, and by whom, along with those whose figures are shown, the painted window descriptive of that event, so flattering to their bravery, was placed in the church. He is recorded to have distinguished himself by his valour in that memorable fight, and to have taken prisoner with his own hand "Sir John Ferman, Knt., serjeant porter to King James IV. of Scotland, and Alexander Barrett, high sheriff of Aberdeen, with two others, whom he delivered to Thomas Lord Howard, Earl of Surrey, the general of the English army, and for his valorous service received the honour of knighthood from the King, with divers privileges for his manor at Middleton." It is also recorded that on his return from the land of Scotland, into which the victorious army had penetrated, he dedicated his standard and armour to St. Leonard of Middleton.

The Lancashire bowmen, who went to this memorable battle under the banner of Sir Edward Stanley, who commanded the left wing of the English army, and whose skill and prowess helped so much to turn the fortune of the event, were celebrated in the history of that day for their deeds of valour and courage. In the old Poem of "*Flodden Field, in Nine Fits*," &c., first printed, but very incorrectly, in 1664, from an ancient MS. in the *Harl. Collect.* in the British Museum, 3526,[1] it is particularly recorded that

"All *Lancashire* for the most part
The lusty *Stanley* stout can lead,
A stock of Striplings strong of heart,
Brought up from Babes with beef and bread.

From *Warton* unto *Warrington*,
From *Wigham*[2] unto *Wirsdale*,
From *Wedicar* to *Waddington*,
From *Ribchester* to *Ratchdale*.

From *Poulton* and *Preston* with pikes
They with the *Stanley* stout forth went;
From *Pemerton*[3] and *Pillingdikes*,
For battel bilmen bold were bent,

With Fellows fresh and fierce in fight,
Which *Horton*[4] Fields did turn in fores;
With lusty Lads liver and light,
From *Blaikborn* and *Bolton* i'th Moors."

The Poem describes the varied events of the battle, and in celebrating the victory in the "*Ninth Fit*," thus picturesquely alludes to the part

[1] Ritson says that this Metrical History was the composition, as it was conjectured, of some North-Country Schoolmaster, in the time of Queen Elizabeth. Besides the edition of 1644, (penes me,) there have been several later ones published,—in 12mo 1774, at Berwick, with a number of interesting notes and historical remarks by the Rev. Robert Lambe, Vicar of Norham upon Tweed—and by Joseph Benson, Philomath, in the same year—again at York, by Thomas Gent, 12mo, n.d.—at Edinburgh, 8vo., 1808, with Notes and Illustrations, by Henry Weber—and at Newcastle in 1819.

[2] Wigan. [3] Pemberton, or Penwortham. [4] Hoghton.

which Sir Edward Stanley and the Lancashire men took on that great occasion, attributing even the death of the Scottish King to Stanley himself; and that till his appearance, during a momentary panic, "the victory in doubt did stand."

"Till at the last the *Stanley* stout
Came marching up the mountain steep
His folks could hardly fest their feet
But forc'd on hands and feet to creep.

And some their boots left down below
That toes might take the better hold,
Some from their feet the shoes did throw
Of true men thus I have heard told.

The sweat down from their bodies ran,
And hearts did hop in panting brest
At last the mountain top they wan
In warlick wise e're *Scotchmen* wist.

Where for a space the *Stanley* staid
Till time his folks had taken breath
To whom all *Sam*[1] even thus he said,
Most hardy mates down from this heath,

Against our foe fast let us hye
Our Country men to comfort and aid
With fighting fierce I fear me, I
Through lingrink long may be o'relaid.

My *Lancashire* most lively wights,
And chosen mates of *Cheshire* strong
From sounding bow your fethered flights
Let fiercely fly your foes among.

March down from this mountain top
And brunt of battle let us bide,
With stomack stout lets make no stop
And *Stanley* stout will be your guid.

* * * * *

[1] Alsam, or alsamne, *i. e.* altogether.

The noise then made the mountains ring
And *Stanley* stout they all did cry
Out went anon the gray goose wing
Against the *Scots* did flickering fly.

Then showrs of arrows sharp were shot,
They ratling ran as rank as hail
And pierc'd the scalp of many a *Scot*
No shield nor pavish could prevaile.

Although the *Scots* at *Stanley's* name
Were stonisht sore yet stout they stood
Yet for defence they fiercely frame
And narrow dint with danger boad.

* * * * *

Which when the *Stanley* stout did see
Into the throng he thundring thrast
My lovely *Lancashire* lads quoth he
Down with the Scots, the day we wast.

Then foes he forc't to break their ranks
Where many a life was lost that while, &c.

* * * * *

And last of all among the lave,
King *James* himself to death was brought,
Yet by whose fact few could perceive,
But *Stanley* still most like was thought.

After the King and Captain slain,
The Commons straight did fall to flight
The *Englishmen* pursued a main
And never ceased while Sun gave light.

* * * * *

This field was foughten in *September*,
In Chronicles as may be seen,
In the year of God as I remember,
One thousand five hundreth and thirteen.

Præconia Post funera manent."

L. 57. ——————— "*whoe went out far*
In suite of our braue Ashton to the warre."]

"The constant tradition of the place," alluded to by Dr. Whittaker, is confirmed by this statement, and a relic of Flodden is thus preserved.

L. 59. "*There stands à painted windowe, where I weene*
The showe of their departure may be seene:"]

In one of the windows on the north side of the church, at Middleton, there still exist most of the figures which are here so minutely and picturesquely described by the Author. They consist of figures of some of the principal persons of Middleton and its neighbourhood, who accompanied Sir Richard Assheton to the Flodden fight, and represent, first, himself and his lady in scarlet, in long garments, with an attendant squire, arrayed in blue. The Chaplain, Henry Taylor, also in a robe of blue, kneeling before an altar, and the seventeen warriors after him, all "on bended knees," each having on his left shoulder his bow, with loosened string, and his quiver, "sheaft with arrowes," slung at his girdle. These are all in mantles of blue, with long curls of hair on each side of their heads, and the name of every man was originally placed over each figure. Beneath was the following inscription, which has since been much mutilated or transposed in repairing the window: —

Orate pro bono statu Richardi Assheton et eorum qui hanc fenestrā fieri fecerunt quorū nōina et imagines ut supra ostenduntur. Anno Dñi M°CCCCC°V°.

There appears to have been an X dropped by accident in the date, which, as it now stands, is eight years before the battle of Flodden took place.

Of these figures, "the semblance faire" of Sir Richard Assheton himself is still partly preserved in another window, and represents him clothed in scarlet, with long flowing hair, kneeling before an altar, on which is an open book, with a sheaf of arrows appearing at his back. Behind him, but in a more mutilated state, are some portions of that of his lady, also in scarlet, kneeling before another altar; but this figure is so mingled and transposed with parts of other windows, as to render it difficult to be traced with much accuracy; while that of the attendant squire appears to be totally destroyed. We are not aware that any of these figures have ever been engraved, except in a curious etching of the chaplain and seventeen archers, made by Philip

de la Motte, in 1786, for the loan of which, as it contained one or two of the names not now in existence, we have been indebted to the obliging kindness of John Pegge, Esq., of Newton Heath, near Manchester, who has lately caused drawings to be taken, the exact size and fac simile of the originals, of the whole of the stained glass in this church; and as much of it is decaying, and likely soon to perish,[1] the valuable exertions of this gentleman in the preservation of such curious and interesting memorials of a past age are deserving of the highest praise.[2]

For the admirable fac-similes, from the drawings of Mr. J. Shaw, which form the frontispieces to the volume, we are indebted to the well known skill of Mr. J. Harris, of Sidmouth Street, London, whose talents in the repair and restoration of early printed books, are universally acknowledged and appreciated.

L. 70. "*courtmantells.*"] A Curt or Courtmantell means simply a short mantle.

L. 73. "*each hath his name.*"] In a Subsidy-Roll for the Hundred of Salford, dated 8th March, 15th Henry VIII., (1505,) are found the following names, corresponding with those in the window at Middleton.

Manchester Parish.

James Tailor, in lands 20s.

Robert Blomely in goods 40s.

This confirms the reading of the inscription in the window, Roger Blomele, by showing that the surname Blomele existed at that period in these parts of Lancashire, as it does to this day.

Rochdale Parish.

John Scolfeld in lands 40s.

Thomas Warberton in lands £3., but no Philip.

[1] Since the drawings of Mr. Pegge were taken, one of the female heads has been blown out and lost, and more will follow, unless speedily examined and repaired.

[2] There was a great deal of stained glass introduced into the South Yorkshire Churches in the reign of Henry VIII. just about the period when the Middleton window must have been executed. And it is probable that there was some Artist in that line, of great reputation at that particular time, whose name and character, if possible, it would be gratifying and interesting to know, but which, we fear, is now hardly recoverable.

Middleton Parish.

Rich. Assheton, Esquire in lands £66.

Ralph Assheton in lands £6. 13s. 4d.

James Gerrarde in goods 40s.

Oldham Parish.

Here is a Robert Wilde in lands £3.

We suspect that the reading of Kyllo is incorrect, and that it should be Wylde.

A Rauffe Chetham in goods £13. 6s. 8d.

Bury Parish.

Hugh Chetham in goods £4.

A Seddon, but the name Richard, in goods, 40s.

The surnames of Pilkington and Prestwich were, no doubt, derived from the townships of those names.

L. 75. "*Larroue.*"] Errat. for Lanoue. Francis de la Noue, an eminent warrior and statesman, was born in Bretany in 1531. He was early trained to arms, and distinguished himself as a soldier in various countries. He was at the siege of Orleans in 1567; at the battle of Jarnac in 1569; and at the taking of Fontenoy, where he received a wound in his left arm which rendered amputation necessary; and its place being supplied with an arm of steel, with which he was able to manage his bridle, he derived from thence the surname of Bras de Fer (Iron arm,) which he bore ever after. He served also in the Low Countries, where he rendered great assistance to the States General, but was taken prisoner in 1580, and detained by the Spaniards in prison for five years. During his confinement, he employed himself in literary occupations; and composed his *Discours Politiques et Militaires*, first printed at Geneva in 1587, 4to. and at Basle in the same year, in 8vo. and since frequently reprinted. He continued to serve with honour under Henry IV. and was at last killed by a musket ball, at the siege of Lamballe in 1591. La Noue was a follower of the doctrines of Calvin in religion, and was one of the earliest writers, if not the first, who advocated unlimited toleration of all religions. He was also against the practice of duelling. An English translation of the *Discours Politiques et Militaires* was published in the same year in which they first appeared abroad, under the title of "The Politicke and Militarie Discourses of the Lord de la Novve; whereunto are adjoyned certaine observations of things happened during the three

late Ciuill Warres of France: all faithfully translated out of French by E. A." Lond. 1587. 4to.

L. 75. ——————"*thy camarades*
Of men theis were which feare would never shades
Of death in warlike service."]

The construction of the latter part of the sentence is,—"which would never fear shades of death in warlike service."

L. 83. "or in *table* make."] i. e. picture.

L. 88. "*a poore mandillion.*"] Mandiglione—Ital. a jacket. Randle Holme says, "This was a kind of loose coat worn upon a doublet, either buttoned or open; and much in use in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. It had no sleeves, but two broad wings on the shoulders, and hanging sleeves at the back, with side skirts or laps."—*Academy of Armoury*, 1688. Book 3. ch. ii. p. 18.

See Samuel Rowland's *Knave of Hearts: his supplication to Card-makers.* 4to. Lond. 1613, last line but four :—

"Short cloakes, old *mandilions.*"

L. 93. "*Where dairie worck goes forward.*"] We have here the daughters of a family of some consideration employed in the dairy, and in spinning. How different are the pursuits and occupations of the present inhabitants of Heywood from the peaceful and domestic employments here described by James. In consequence of the introduction of manufactures and commerce, with their attendant spirit of gain, the whole face of the country is changed; the resident gentry have quitted their old ancestral halls; and few places have risen more rapidly in the amount of its population than Heywood. From being only an insignificant village in the Author's time, with its few simple inhabitants employed in works of agriculture and domestic affairs, it is now an important manufacturing town, comprising a population of upwards of 12,000 persons.

L. 93. "*fairies spinne.*"] This, probably, alludes to their reputed love of neatness and cleanliness of apparel; and to their being commonly supposed to assist in all kinds of domestic drudgery and work, and being extremely

useful in household occupations.—See Brand's *Popul. Antiq.* by Ellis, vol. ii. pp. 327, seq.

L. 94. "*ferrs.*"] *i. e.* feres, meaning here, of course, husbands. A companion, generally.

L. 95. "*fleere.*"] To mock, to gibe, to flout.

L. 96. "*Because I praise.*"] In the original MS. the word *praise* is written, secundâ manû, *prize*, which is perhaps the better reading.

L. 96. "*my virgins,*"] This expression sounds rather oddly to modern ears, and what follows still more so, especially when it is considered that James was but a young man when he wrote this poem, at least not very old.

L. 96. "*gheere.*"] Stuff of any sort—furniture, dress, habit, &c.

L. 97. "*faine.*"] *i. e.* feign. It occurs in this form in Chaucer, and several other writers.

L. 102. "*bourding.*"] *i. e.* mocking.

L. 109.] The Author's second excursion to Ormskirk and to North and South Meoles.

L. 109. "*ye Meales.*"] Perhaps so derived from "Moel, a heap or pile, a conical hill, a towering hill with its top smooth, or void of rocks and woods." See Owen's Welsh Dict. 8vo. Ed. 1803. It is probable that Meales or Meols may be the district of Sand hills with reference to this British word Moel.

L. 112. "*chaffe sands.*"] Chaffe sands are dry sands blown about by the winds, in opposition to moist or wet sands, and are still so called in the North.

L. 113. "*which Hoes are called in Worold.*"] *Hoes* from Hou, a mountain, mons. See Lye's *Dict. Sax.*; Bosworth's *Anglo Sax. Dict.*; *hoga*, a

how or hoe, a term applied to small eminences as well as greater ones. *Tumuli* are so called in several parts of England. We find it appended to Clider-how in Lancashire, Fox-how in Westmoreland, and Pen-how in Monmouthshire. But see more on this word How or Halgh under Dunken-halgh, in Whitaker's *Hist. Whalley*, 4to, 3d Ed. 1818, p. 407; Thoresby's *Duc. Leod.* by Whitaker, vol. ii. p. 129, on the word Gled-how, and p. 276; also under How-royd in Watson's *Hist. Halifax*, p. 161, and Baker's *Hist. Northampt.* p. 513, under Ayn-ho. The chief difficulty appears in the application of expressions referable to hills of so much loftier a character, to the petty ranges of star hills or sand hillocks, such as we see on the coasts of Lancashire, Cheshire, and North Wales.

L. 114. "*Worold.*"] *i. e.* Wirrall in Cheshire.

L. 138. "*Roving at sea when Essex Cales did winne.*"] The expedition of the brave and accomplished Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, the favourite of Queen Elizabeth, in company with Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral of England, to Cadiz, or Cales as it was then called, took place in 1596. In this expedition Essex was the commander of the land forces, and is said to have thrown his hat into the sea for joy, when the Lord Admiral, after some delay, at length consented to attack the Spanish fleet. The enterprize proved completely successful, the city being taken, and the Spanish fleet destroyed. For his services in this Cadiz affair, the Queen created Essex, Earl Marshall, in 1597.

L. 139. "*If any Busshell will*," &c.] Thomas Bushel, in order to try how far a life of severe abstinence would promote longevity, retreated to the Calf of Man, (an islet about three miles distant from Port Erin, in the Isle of Man,) and made it his abode in the reign of James I. In that dreary and melancholy solitude he appears to have died; for not only is a small ruinous building still shown, which is called Bushel's house, but also a place on the top of an adjoining rock, named Bushel's grave.

"This cemetery is most curiously constructed in the form of a cross, containing two cavities six feet long, three wide, and two deep. Immediately on the edge is a wall of stone and mortar, two feet high. The whole is roofed and slated; but except the before-mentioned application of this repository to the purpose of sepulture, no probable conjecture has

been formed of the use or design for which it was constructed. The rock itself is only accessible on one side, and is called the Eye or Burrow. It adjoins the Calf at low water, but at high water there are forty feet of intermediate sea."[1]—See Bullock's *Hist. of the Isle of Man*, 8vo, 1816, p. 223.

This Thomas Bushel must not be confounded with the person of the same name who was employed by Lord Bacon to assist him in his philosophical experiments — was celebrated for his knowledge of mineralogy, — and became afterwards Superintendent of the Mint to Charles I. at Aberystwith and Shrewsbury. This Thomas Bushel lived many years later, and did not die till 1674, and therefore could not be the person alluded to by James. See Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* vol. iii. p. 1007, and Blakeway's *Hist. Shrewsb.* vol. i. p. 423, &c.

L. 142. "*Calve of Man.*"] See the preceding note.

L. 145. "*a callot.*"] *i. e.* a serving-wench, properly a trull, a jade, or drab.

L. 150. "*Our next niew sallie.*"] The third excursion from Heywood to Holywell.

L. 150 "*Our next niew sallie to ye holy well,*
Four miles beyond Flint castle."]

This account of the legend of St. Wenefrede is related by James from a MS. Latin life of her, still existing, which was then in the possession of his friend Sir Robert Cotton, in a volume written on vellum about the middle of the eleventh century, containing a collection of chronicles and lives of saints, and now in the Cottonian Library, Claud. A.V. The authorship is attributed by James himself to St. Elerius a Cambrian or British monk, An. 660; but Mr Blakeway, in the *Hist. Shrewsb.* vol. ii. p. 33, has clearly proved that it was written at a much later period, and that "there is no document respecting St. Wenefrede for five centuries after the time of her

[1] The reader will find an excellent illustration of these rock places of sepulture in Whitaker's account of the Parish of Heysham, in his *Hist. Richmondshire*, vol. ii. p. 317.

supposed existence." It was from this Cottonian MS. that our author compiled his narrative of this legend; and it is plain that, though constantly occupied in his studies and researches in the Bodleian Library, he had not seen another MS. Latin life of St. Wenefrede in that library, written by Robert of Shrewsbury, prior, and afterwards abbot, of the monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul in that town, in the reign of King Stephen. This is addressed to his father, Guarin, the prior of Worcester, and extends over a space of forty-four closely written folio pages, containing an account of the life and adventures of St. Wenefrede, and ending with a long statement of the translation of her remains from Gwytherin Church, near Llanrwst in Denbighshire, where she was buried, to the abbey of Shrewsbury, in which translation Robert the prior, and author of this account, took a leading and prominent part. For further information on this subject see Alfordi "*Fides Regia Britannicæ, sive Annales Ecclesiæ Britannicæ;*" Leodii, 1663, Fol. vol. ii. p. 304: J. Capgravii *Nova Legenda Angliæ;* Lond. 1516, Fol. p. cclxxxxvi., b: Capgrave's *Lives of the Saints*, in Cat. Lib. MSS. Bibl. Cotton. p. 40. Tib. E.I. edit. 1802.—See also Alban Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, Nov. 3d: Owen and Blakeway's *Hist. of Shrewsb.* vol. ii. p. 34, where a facsimile of the writing of each of these MSS. is given; and Pennant's *Tour in Wales*, vol. i. p. 46, and vol. ii. p. 180. edit. 1810. Robert of Shrewsbury's *Life of St. Wenefrede* was translated or "reduced" into English by William Caxton, and printed by him in folio, without date, fifteen leaves, a copy of which is in the Royal Library.—See Dibd. *Typog. Antiq.* vol. i. p. 341. Another translation of this life was published in 1635 by a Jesuit, under the title of "The admirable Life of Saint Wenefride Virgin, Martyr, Abbesse. Written in Latin aboue 500. yeares ago, by Robert, monke and Priour of Shrewsbury, of the Ven. order of S. Benedict. Deuided into two Bookes. And now translated into English, out of a very ancient and authenticall manuscript, for the edification and comfort of Catholikes.—By J. F. of the Society of Jesus. Permissu Superiorū M.DC.XXXV." Small 8vo, with an engraved Frontispiece, containing a view of St. Winefride's Well, and the Virgin herself kneeling before an altar. In 1712 was published "The Life and Miracles of St. Wenefrede, together with Litanies, with some historical observations made thereon. By F. Metcalf, S.J." 12mo. Lond. 1712. With an engraved Frontispiece. And in 1713 appeared the last and most copious Life of St. Winefrede, by the learned Bishop Fleetwood; being the last mentioned work, republished with Notes and

Observations, and a Preface by the Bishop, with the following title, "The Life and Miracles of St. Wenefrede, together with her Litanies. With some Historical Observations made thereon." 8vo. 1713.

L. 199. "*With Britaines wen is white.*"] "*Wen* in the old British tongue signifies *white*, and other letters were by an alteration added to this syllable, to render more agreeable the sound of the new name."—See Bp. Fleetwood's *Life of St. Wenefride*, p. 61. ed. 1713.

L. 199. ——————"*but stained red*
Still are ye stones where ravisht was hir hed."]

In the translator's "*Preface to the Reader*" of the Life of this Saint published in 1635, after remarking on the multitude of Pilgrims who visited the place of St. Winefrede's martyrdom, he adds: "The waters of this holy Well seeme to haue in thē more then naturall vertues, by giuing a musky, and most delightfull sweetnes to the greene mosse growing on the wals of this stately enclosure, and colouring all the stones which lye in the bottome thereof with spots, as it were of pure bloud, in them strangely appearing." In the Life also, the author speaks of the place being "scene and honoured by multitudes of people, daily visitting her Well, as the miraculous Trophy of her martyrdome there susteyned; wondring first, to see such a source of pure water breaking out of the ground vpon which her head first fell; next, to behould the stones therein, as with drops of her bloud strangly stayned, or died rather; and lastly, to smell the greene mosse growing about the Well, with a musky sweet odour more than naturally perfumed."—*Life of St. Wenefride*, p. 179. ed. 1635.

The supposed bloody stain upon the stones is occasioned by an odoriferous vegetable production, the *byssus jolithus* of Linnæus, who says that "the stone to which it adheres easily betrays itself by the colour, being as if smeared with blood, and if rubbed, yields a smell like violets." The sweet scented moss which grows on the sides of the well, and is found in other springs in the neighbourhood, is the *jungermannia asplenoides* of Linnæus.

L. 201 —————— "*a fountaine cleere*
Which at this cruell deede did first apeere."]

It is evident that James had seen the *Poly-Olbion* of Drayton, first published in 1613, fol., who in this celebrated and fanciful work thus alludes to the well and legend of St. Wenefrede: —

———— "The sacred fount of *Winifrid*—
Of all the *Cambrian* Springs of such especiall grace,
That oft the *Dauian*[1] Nymphs, as also those that keepe
Amongst the Corall-Groues in the Vergiuian Deepe,
Haue left their watry bowers, their secret safe retire,
To see her whom report so greatly should admire
(Whose waters to this day as perfect are and cleere,
As her delightfull eyes in their full beauties were,
A virgin while she liu'd) chaste *Winifrid:* who chose
Before her mayden-gem she forcibly would lose,
To haue her harmlese life by the lewd Rapter spilt:
For which still more and more to aggrauate his guilt,
The liuelesse teares shee shed, into a Fountaine turne.
And, that for her alone the water should not mourne,
The pure vermillion bloud, that issu'd from her vaines,
Vnto this very day the pearly grauell staines;
As erst the white and red were mixed in her cheeke.
And, that one part of her might be the other like,
Her haire was turn'd to mosse; whose sweetnesse doth declare,
In liuelinesse of youth the naturall sweets she bare:
And of her holy life the innocence to show,
What-euer liuing thing into this Well you throwe,
Shee strongly beares it vp, not suffring it to sinke.
Besides, the wholesome vse in bathing, or in drinke
Doth the diseased cure, as thereto shee did leaue
Her vertue with her name, that time should not bereaue."

DRAYTON'S *Poly-Olbion*, fol. 1622, p. 160.

L. 205. "*Reade Surius and Baronius*," &c.] "The Life of this Noble Virgin and Martyr, was diligently and authentically gathered by *Robertus Salopiensis*, a learned Monke and *Priour of Shrewsbury*, of the holy order of S. Benedict, liuing in King *Stephens* tyme, and for his great sincerity, by *Cardinall Baronius*, *Surius*, *Capgraue*, *Pits*, *Posseuinus*, and others, worthily commended. Whose booke coppied truly out of an old authenticall Manuscript, I haue heere in sense faithfully translated, and done no otherwise in altering the Authors old phrases, scarsely expressible in good English, then as if I had stripped some body out of Welsh course frize, and put him into a suite of English playne Karesay."—Translator's *Pref.* to the Edit. 1635.

[1] Of Dee.

L. 205. "*Surius.*"] Laurentius Surius, a voluminous writer and compiler, was born at Lubeck in 1522, and became a Monk of the Carthusian order in that city. He was eminent for his virtues and learning, and died at Cologne, May 25, 1578, aged 56. His principal works are "A Collection of Councils," in four vols. fol. 1567, — "A History of his own Times from 1500 to 1566," 8vo. 1569, — and "The Lives of the Saints," seven vols. fol. 1618. It is remarked that Surius "did not want learning, but those of his own communion allow that he gave credit blindly to fables, and was deficient in critical knowledge."

L. 205. "*Baronius.*"] Cæsar Baronius, a Cardinal of the Roman Church, and an eminent writer of ecclesiastical history, was born at Sora in the kingdom of Naples, October 30, 1538, educated at Rome, chosen Confessor to Pope Clement VIII. by whom he was raised to the dignity of a Cardinal, June 5, 1596. He was afterwards appointed Librarian of the Vatican, and died June 30, 1607, in his 69th year. His great literary work, in which he laboured for more than thirty years, was his "*Ecclesiastical Annals,*" published in twelve vols. fol., the first printed in 1588, the last in 1607, in which the history of the Church was brought down to the year 1198. There were numerous editions of it afterwards published.

L. 206. "*Thomas Asaphs Bishop.*"] "Thomas Goldwell sub initium Octobris 1555 consecratus, circa solstitium æstivale 1559 (Elizabethæ Reginæ primo) solum sponte mutavit, et in exilio viginti postea per annos vixit. Magno conatu magnas nugas. Multis precibus à Papâ impetravit Goldwellus indulgentias renovari nescio quas ad tempus certum concessas, superstitionis gratiâ peregrinationes suscipientibus ad fontem qui sanctæ Winefridæ appellatur, et oblationes sacrificulis exhibentibus qui ibi loci ex hoc lucelli genere victitabant."[1] — F. Godwini *De Præsulibus Angliæ Comment.* vol. ii. p. 222. fol. Cantabr. 1743.

L. 207. "*But Capgraue says.*"] John Capgrave, who lived in the reign of Henry VI. was Provincial of the Augustine Friars, and Confessor to the famous Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, the first founder of the University Library at Oxford. He collected together the various Legends of the

[1] "Moritur et sepultus est Romæ circa 1581."

British Saints, which he published in a more correct form than had yet been done. These Lives of the Saints were printed by Wynkyn de Worde, under the following title, "Nova Legenda Anglie. Lond. ī domo Wynādi de Worde 1516," folio. The Lives extend in alphabetical order to fol. cccxxxiiii. a list of which may be seen in Catal. Libr. MSS. Bibl. Cott. p. 40. Tib. E. I edit. 1802. The work was reprinted at the same press, with similar decorations, in 1527, folio. Capgrave, who is supposed to have died A.D. 1464, does not appear to be noticed by any of our later writers on biography.

L. 213. "*Nay, nothing of the name of Winefride*
Is in Geraldus or Galfridus read,
Whoe ye survaye did write and ye storie
Of their deere Wales, in which they glorie."]

"It is very singular," remarks Mr. Blakeway, "that Giraldus, whose turn of mind, at once inquisitive, credulous, and rational, would scarcely have let him pass over a worker of miracles of his own country; and whose subject, a description of Wales and its marvels, would necessarily have led to it, should not notice Winefride in the slightest degree; and a learned philologist,[1] himself a Welshman, boldly declares, that she was never anything more than a *name;* Gwenvrewy, signifying, according to him, '*the white hill water*,' the copious fountain of Holywell: an opinion which will not appear destitute of probability to those who call to mind the numerous examples in heathen mythology of wells that have sprung from events similar to that of the legend before us, and recollect how closely the religion of the dark ages copied the reveries of paganism."—See Blakeway's *Hist. Shrewsb.* vol. ii. p. 42.

L. 214. "*Geraldus.*"] Gerald de Barry, better known by the name of Giraldus Cambrensis, was born at the Castle of Manorbeer, in South Wales, about 1146. In 1172 he was made Canon of Hereford, and Archdeacon of Brecon in the Diocese of St. David's; and on the death of his uncle, David Fitzgerald, Bishop of that See, he was elected by the Chapter to succeed him, but was opposed in this appointment by Henry II. In 1188, he accompanied Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, in a tour through some of the wildest parts of Wales, to preach the Crusade. The results of his

[1] Will. Baxter. See his Note on *Hor. Ep.* I, xv. 3.

travels were given to the world in the most celebrated of his works, his "*Itinerarium Cambriæ.*" Little appears to be known of the later years of his life, but he is said to have at last attained the great object of his ambition, the Bishopric of St. David's, and having died there some time after 1220, to have been buried in his own Cathedral.

Giraldus deserves our admiration for his enthusiastic love of British antiquities, and was a voluminous writer, also, on other subjects. The reader may see a full list of his works in Tanner's *Biblioth. Britann.* Portions of these were printed by Camden in his folio collection of English Chronicles, but a complete edition of the works of Giraldus is still a desideratum.

The *Itinerary* was translated into English, with annotations and a Life of Giraldus, by the late Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Bart., and published in 1806, in two vols. 4to, with the Latin text as a supplemental volume in the same year, the whole reflecting great credit to the taste and research of its learned Editor.

L. 214. "*Galfridus.*"] Jeffery or Geoffrey of Monmouth, a contemporary of Giraldus Cambrensis, and a writer of British History, who flourished in the time of King Stephen, was born at Monmouth, and probably educated at the Benedictine Priory in that town. He was made Archdeacon of Monmouth, and promoted to the Bishopric of St. Asaph in 1152, but resigned his See soon after, on account of some tumults in Wales, and retired to the Monastery of Abingdon, of which he was made Abbot by Henry II. Here he devoted himself to study, and wrote various works, of which the one best known is his *Chronicon sive Historia Britonum*, first printed at Lyons, in 1508, 4to. It is filled with marvellous and fabulous relations, and must be considered more in the light of a romance than as a piece of real history. An abridgement of it was made by Virunnius an Italian; and an English translation of the work appeared in 1718, 8vo., by Aaron Thompson, with a preface "concerning the authority of the history."

L. 218. "*waud.*"] *i. e.* waved, rejected.

L. 218. "*Salope Robert.*"] Robertus Salopiensis, or Robert of Shrewsbury, whose name, on the authority of Lloyd's MS. History of Shropshire, is believed to be Pennant, was probably one of the ancient family of the historian of that name, still existing at Downing, in the immediate

neighbourhood of Holywell. He became Prior of Shrewsbury Abbey in the reign of King Stephen, and was afterwards made Abbot. He was the person who caused the translation to be made of the bones of St. Wenefrede out of Wales, to his own abbey at Shrewsbury, to enrich his foundation; and afterwards wrote the life of that Saint, and an account of the proceedings on the removal of her remains in 1136.

L. 219. "*nor yet Elerius cite.*"] St. Elerius is said, according to ancient legends, to have been a Monk of St. Asaph, who lived A.D. 660, and afterwards settled at Gwytherin in Denbighshire, where he became the instructor of St. Wenefrede, who was placed by him in a convent of Nuns at that village, under the rule of his mother, Theona, on whose death she succeeded to the government of the Nunnery. He was canonized at his death, and his body was afterwards removed to the Abbey of Shrewsbury.

L. 221. "*But here to Templers cell were monkes put in*
Vnder our seconde Edward."]

Basingwerk Abbey, called by the Welsh *Maes Glás*, or Greenfield Abbey, about a mile from Holywell, was founded, according to Tanner and Dugdale, by Ranulph, Earl of Chester, in 1131, for Monks of the Cistercian order. Others affirm that it was founded by Henry II. subsequent to the year 1150. While Gabriel Powell in his annotations on Giraldus, and Bishop Gibson in his additions to Camden, both place its foundation so late as the reign of Edward II. in 1312, thus agreeing with James in the Poem. Pennant is of opinion that there had been a religious community here considerably anterior to any of these periods. He also states that Henry II. established here a house of Knights Templars, for the protection of the English pilgrims in performing their vows at the sacred well of St. Wenefrede, of which the spacious and elegant chapel is still standing. If a house for Templars existed at Basingwerk, it must have been contemporaneous with the existence of this older foundation; but the existence of Templars here is not certain; The Monks of this Abbey kept a Priest in the Chapel of the well, for whose maintenance they had special estates granted. — See Dugdale's *Monasticon*, edit. Ellis.

L. 222. ———————— "*then beginne*
Theis craftie fables: stories they invent."]

The author of the Poem seems inclined to agree with Gabriel Powell in

ascribing the invention of the legend of St. Wenefrede to the Monks of the adjoining Abbey of Basingwerk, from the circumstance of no mention being made of it by any writer previous to the foundation of that monastery. But there is every reason to believe the tradition to have preceded the foundation of the Abbey by a long period. Mr. Pennant, indeed, thinks the legend of St. Wenefrede was known previous to the Conquest. Holywell was anciently called in Cymric, *Tre-ffynnon*, "the town of the well," and in the charters of Basingwerk Abbey it is called *Haliwelle*. — Leland, in his Genethliacon, in mentioning Holywell, calls it

——— "cæsa Trefontem virgine clarum."

L. 224. "*They purchase pardons which from Rome are sent.*"] The revenues of the Abbey were yearly increased from the sale of pardons to such as came in solemn pilgrimage to the fountain of St. Wenefrede. Selden, in his learned notes on Drayton's *Poly-Olbion*, relates that Pope Martin V. in the reign of Henry V. furnished the Abbey of Basingwerk with pardons and indulgences to dispose of to the pilgrims.

L. 225. "*They builde a structure, chappell, cloysters round*
About y^e^ well; to put off cloathes they founde
A joining roome."]

The well of St. Wenefrede is one of the greatest curiosities of the county of Flint. It is situated in a deep dell between the town of Holywell and the sea, and is most probably caused by some streams descending into the chinks and cavities of the carboniferous limestone range of the Flintshire Hills, and thus forcing their way out at this spot. The supply of water is always very considerable, and after heavy rains great discoloration takes place in it; otherwise it is exceedingly pure, limpid, and cold. Above it is a beautiful edifice of the perpendicular style of pointed architecture, erected by Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby, mother of Henry VII., all the parts of which are constructed of the best materials, and finished in the most exquisite and masterly manner. This building consists of a lower open hall built over the well, with a wall all round, and monialled arcades looking into the well. The roof, which forms a canopy over the fountain, is most delicately carved in stone, the intersections being filled with sculptured figures of animals, and armorial bearings. Above is a room once used as a chapel, but probably afterwards turned into an apartment for the bathers to unrobe in.

At present the bathers put their clothes in small wooden closets, built at the south end of the lower hall, and the upper room is converted into a school. Outside the wall is a swimming bath constructed within an open court, and the spot is greatly resorted to at the present day by persons affected with maladies for which a "cold-water cure" may be desirable. The effects of the aqueous application are indeed so rapid and complete, in some cases, that the superstitious belief of olden times may be well accounted for, and perhaps pardoned.

It is much to be regretted by all lovers of mediæval architecture that the building over the well is in such a dilapidated state as to create fears of its total destruction. Its decayed condition has been recently advocated by some of the Committee of the Archæological Institute, in the hope that some timely aid might be gained towards rescuing this interesting structure from the ruin which threatens it in consequence of the decay of the foundations. It is reported that a small sum would be sufficient to avert the immediate danger, and it is to be hoped that a subscription may be raised, and the necessary funds acquired for this purpose. The woman who shows the well to strangers receives money for this purpose; and few who see so beautiful a monument would refuse to contribute their mite.

L. 226. "*ye well.*"] The reader will see an interesting article on the subject of holy wells in Wales, including this of St. Wenefrede's, by the Rev. John Williams, of Nerquis, near Mold, in the first number of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*. We believe it is intended to give a historical and architectural account of St. Wenefrede's Well, with descriptive plates, in some future number of the same publication.

L. 227. ——————— "*In seventh Harryes time*
And in Queene Maries, with such toyes they chime
Much people in with coyne."

Pardons and indulgences continued to be sold by the Monks in the time of Henry VII., and in the reign of Queen Mary were again obtained from Pope Julius III. through the assistance of Thomas Goldwell, Bishop of St. Asaph, who fled from this country into Italy on the accession of Queen Elizabeth, and died there in 1581. James II. and his amiable consort, Queen Maria Beatrice d'Este, came here, in order that her Majesty might derive benefit from the water; and it is said, not without good effects being produced.

L. 230. "*But to encrease their Greene-field Abbyes wealth.*"] "Multitudes of offerings," says Mr. Pennant, flowed in: — marks of gratitude from such who had received benefit by the intercession of the virgin." — Pennant's *Tours*, vol. i. p. 51. Edit. 1810 — "Greene-field Abbey." See note on line 221.

L. 235. "*This faire cleere springe, which courses through y^e^ hills,*
Conveys summe mettull tincture in hir rills,
Which they make staine of blood."]

It has been already shown that the supposed "staine of blood" is derived from a vegetable production. James here attributes it to the water being impregnated with iron or other metal, for which, however, there does not appear to be any good ground of supposition. We have seen it asserted somewhere, that persons in Holywell used to remember the Roman Catholics painting some of the stones with red paint every year! "Credat Judæus!"

Mr. Bingley says, "In this stream it is remarked that the water-wheels are very soon destroyed — so much so that an oak wheel, which in most other waters ought to have lasted at least thirty years, has been known to become unfit for use in twelve; a species of moss, the *hypnum riparium*, vegetates on the wood, and harbours the larvæ of some species of insect in such immense quantities, that they soon eat even into the heart of the wood. On this account water-wheels formed of cast iron are used in the place of timber." — See Bingley's *North Wales*, vol. i. p. 52.

We do not know the other spring alluded to by the author in his side note, "ten miles distant from Wenefredes well," but in that limestone country springs sometimes both disappear and burst forth in very curious localities.

L. 237. "*But now the tide,*" &c.] The fourth excursion from Holywell to Chester and its neighbourhood.

L. 239. "*Chester a Roman Station.*"] Chester, the ancient Deva of the Romans, was the head quarters of the 20th Legion for upwards of two hundred years, and one of the most important of their military stations in Britain. Considerable remains of Roman antiquities have been found at various times within its walls, consisting of altars, statues, pottery ware, coins, and other relics; and also two baths. Of one of these, some remains

are still in existence, consisting of a *hypocaust*, situated in Bridge-street, near the Feathers Inn, and engraved in Lysons's *Hist. of Cheshire*, p. 431. It is thus described by Mr. Pennant: — "This hypocaust is of a rectangular figure, supported by thirty-two pillars, two feet ten inches and a half high, and about eighteen inches distant from each other. Upon each is a tile eighteen inches square, as if designed for a capital; and over them a perforated tile two feet square: such are continued over all the pillars. Above these are two layers; one of coarse mortar, mixed with small red gravel, about three inches thick; and the other of finer materials between four and five inches thick; these seem to have been the floor of the room above. The pillars stand on a mortar-floor, spread over the rock. On the south side, between the middle pillars, is the vent for the smoke, about six inches square, which is at present open to the height of sixteen inches. Here is also an anti-chamber, exactly of the same extent with the *hypocaust*, with an opening in the middle into it. This is sunk near two feet below the level of the former, and is of the same rectangular figure; so that both form an exact square. This was the room allotted for the slaves who attended to heat the place; the other was the receptacle of the fuel designed to heat the room above, the *concamerata sudatio*,[1] or sweating chamber, where people were seated either in niches, or on benches placed one above the other, during the time of the operation."— *Tours in Wales*, vol. i. p. 152, ed. 1810; and Ormerod's *Cheshire*, vol. i. p. 295. Mr. Pennant also gives an account of a second hypocaust, discovered in Watergate-street, in January, 1779, of greater extent than the former, containing two sudatories, but now entirely destroyed.

L. 243. ——— "*y^e^ bricks of such worke lardge and square,*
In knowing Whitbyes house preserved are."]

Some of these bricks, or large square perforated tiles for conveying the steam, are now in the possession of Sir Philip de Malpas Grey Egerton, Bart., of Oulton Park.

L. 244. "*In knowing Whitbyes house.*"] Edward Whitby, Recorder of Chester, and M.P. for that city, was the Antiquary here named. He was the son of Robert Whitby, who was Mayor of Chester in 1612, and had a brother, Thomas Whitby, Sheriff in the same year, who died before his

[1] Vitruvius, lib. v. c. 11.

brother Edward, leaving a family. Edward Whitby the Antiquary was chosen Recorder of the city of Chester 13th August, 1613, 11 Jac. I., and was elected M.P. for the same city in the following year, 12 Jac. I. He continued to sit for Chester to the time of his death, which took place April 8, 1639, at the Bache. He was connected by family marriages with the Gamuls, Alderseys, and other respectable Chester gentry; and it is mentioned by Mr. Ormerod that among the MSS. of the Randle Holmes in the British Museum, "are several of his papers relating to Cheshire antiquities, in a hand generally illegible." His Will bears date 17th June, 1633, in which he appoints his wife Alice Whitby and Thomas Brauand, Esq. his Executors, by whom it was proved the 29th April, 1639; and mention is made in it of his estate, capital messuage, manor, or lordship of Bach, &c. &c. Bache Hall, or The Beach, as it is now called, the "house" or mansion here referred to, in which Mr. Whitby resided, and "preserved" his collection of antiquities, was garrisoned by the Parliament, and destroyed during the siege of Chester. It was pleasantly situated about a mile from that city, above a rocky valley from which the place took its name, Bach being the Saxon denomination of a valley. — See Ormerod's *Hist. Chesh.* vol. i. p. 187, and vol. ii. p. 423.

L. 249. "*Of bucks and does,*"] *i. e.* friars and nuns.

L. 249. "*peeled,*"] *i. e.* bare, shaven, alluding to the shaven heads of friars.

L. 252. "*molaes,*"] *i. e.* false conceptions. See Facciolati in v. *Mola.* It is merely the Latin word borrowed, a practice common among old writers. Gouldman, in his curious *Latin and English Dictionary*, 4to, 1664, gives the term "mill" as used for such an abortion. Mola, μύλη, caro informis, seu moles carnea, in uteris concepta, a mill, a piece of flesh without shape, a hard swelling, a moon calf, &c.

L. 253. "*y^e^ Jew Amatus.*"] John Roderigo Amato, a Portuguese physician and medical writer, of Jewish origin, flourished about the middle of the sixteenth century. He studied at Salamanca, and practised surgery in that city, and afterwards in Italy. His attachment to the Jewish faith brought him under the notice of the Inquisition, which obliged him to fly,

first to Ragusa, and afterwards to Thessalonica, where he openly professed the Jewish religion. His writings chiefly consist of a large collection of observations on physic and and surgery, entitled, "Curationum Medicinalium Centuria Septem," published separately from 1551 to 1557, a work of great learning and information. The time and place of his death are not known.

L. 253. Note. "*foing.*"] Cleansing, or making clean. Forby, in his *Vocabulary of East Anglia*, has to fie, fey, or fay, as still used in Norfolk in this sense. In Craven, to fie, or fay, now signifies to clean out, as fish-ponds or ditches.—See *Promptor. Parvul.* p. 160 and p. 175.

L. 255. "*haine.*"] This word is still provincial, meaning to exclude, as cattle from a grass field, Somersetshire, Gloucestershire. It is obviously Ang. Sax., henan or hỳnan, impedire. It is equivalent here to hinder.—See concerning this word, Jamieson's *Scotch Dict.*

L. 257. "*Three miles from Chester lyes à common heath,*" &c.] This event of the defeat of the Britons and the capture and pillage of Chester, took place in 607, when Ethelfrid King of Northumbria, urged on by Ethelbert King of Kent, came to avenge the quarrel of St. Augustine, Archbishop of Canterbury, to whose jurisdiction and authority, and that of the Romish Church, the British Monks and Ecclesiastics refused to submit. "Ethelfrid," says Mr. Pennant, "was opposed by Brochwel Yscythroc, King of Powis, who collected hastily a body of men, probably depending on the intervention of Heaven, as in the case of the *victoria alleluiatica*, for that end he called to his aid one thousand two hundred religious from the great convent of Bangor, and posted them on a hill, in order that he might benefit by their prayers. Ethelfrid fell in with this pious corps, and finding what their business was, put them to the sword without mercy. He made an easy conquest of Brochwel, who, as the Saxon Chronicle informs us, escaped with about fifty men."—Pennant, vol. i. p. 162. Ed. 1810.—"Hoc anno 607, Æthelfrithus ducebat exercitum suum ad Legirceiester, et ibi Britannos interfecit innumeros. Brochmail dictus est eorum dux, qui cum quinquaginta plus minus evasit."—*Chron. Sax.* 4to. 1692, p. 25. See also *Ran. Higden inter Rerum Ang. Scrip.* iii. 228; and *Bedæ Eccles. Hist.* ibid. p. 177.

L. 271. "*America, thy wofull tragedie,*
Was not more fell than this of Brittanie,
In lignage and in landgnadye."

James, in his fierce and bitter enmity against the Romanists, is here of course alluding to the horrible outrages and cruelties practised by the Spaniards in the conquest of Mexico, by Fernando Cortez, and their cruel treatment of the unfortunate Emperor Montezuma, and of his officers, who were publicly burnt alive; and also in the conquest of Peru by the same nation, under the celebrated Pizarro, whose treatment of the innocent and defenceless Peruvians calls forth feelings of the most genuine pity and compassion, and has left an eternal stain of infamy on the Spanish name. — See Robertson's *Hist. of America*.

L. 274. "*From Catnys to ȳ Mount,*"] *i. e.* from Caithness in Scotland to St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall.

L. 276. "*threape.*"] To threap, Ang. Sax., Spreapan, or Spreazan signifies to persist in a fact or argument, be it right or wrong; also to chide or censure, to blame or rebuke. But here it rather means reprovement, or punishment. See on this word Grose's *Prov. Gloss.*; Nares's *Gloss.*; and Jamieson's *Scotch Dict.*

L. 277. "*Penigent, Pendle hill, Ingleborough,*
Three such hills be not all England thorough."]

This is an old local proverb, or sort of proverbial rhyme, and may be found in Grose's *Provincial Glossary*, amongst the Yorkshire Proverbs, p. 94. Ed. 1841. 4to. Ray gives it thus: —

"Ingleborough, Pendle, and Penigent,
Are the highest hills between Scotland and Trent."
PROVERBS, p. 238, ed. 1768.

L. 277 and 279. "*I long to climb up Pendle.*"] Another excursion commences here, being the fifth.

L. 279. ——————— "*Pendle stands,*
Rownd cop, survaijing all ȳ wilde moore lands."]

Pendle Hill[1] is situated on the borders of Lancashire, in the northern part of the parish of Whalley, and rises about eighteen hundred feet above

[1] So called from *Pen*, or the Head.

the level of the sea. The views from the summit are very extensive, including the Irish Sea on one side, and York Minster at a distance of nearly sixty miles on the other. But notwithstanding the boast of the old proverb above, there are several hills around it of much higher elevation. Dr. Whitaker, in describing this part of the country, says—"A very singular phenomenon appears, which is this, that whereas the mineral beds of Lancashire preserve a general inclination nearly from east to west of one foot in five; and thence to one foot in seven; here on a sudden the crust of the earth appears to have undergone a violent disruption, in consequence of which the edges of the beds are thrown up into the air, and downward towards the centre of the earth. At an angle of no less than forty-five degrees to the horizon, immediately beyond this appearance, rises the huge mass of Pendle, which seems to have been thrown up by the same convulsion; and immediately to the north again, appears a surface of limestone, with its concomitant system of plants and minerals, which, had the strata to the south maintained their natural position, must have lain at a vast depth beneath. The effect of this convulsion is felt over a tract of forty miles to the north, scarcely a seam of coal being found before we arrive at Burton in Lonsdale."—See Whitaker's *Hist. Whalley*, p. 278. 3d Ed. 1818.

L. 281. "*And Malkins Toure, à little cottage, where*
Reporte makes caitive witches meete to sweare
Their homage to y^e divell."]

Malkin Tower, in the Forest of Pendle, in the county of Lancaster, stood on the declivity of Pendle Hill, and was the place where, according to vulgar belief, a sort of assembly or convention of reputed witches took place on Good Friday in 1612, which was attended by seventeen pretended witches and three wizards, who were afterwards arraigned, August 18, 1612, before Sir Edward Bromley, Knight, at Lancaster, and ten of these unfortunate creatures were found guilty, and immediately put to death. The account of this may be read in Potts's "*Wonderful Discoverie of Witches in the Countie of Lancaster*," 4to. Lond. 1613; and reprinted in the third volume of Lord Somers's *Tracts*, 4to. 1810, with an Introduction and Notes by Sir Walter Scott, Bart.; and since then for the Chetham Society, with an admirable and masterly Preface by Mr. Crossley, who observes in a note to his Introduction, p. xlix:—

"Baines confounds Malking Tower with Hoar-stones,[1] a place rendered

[1] Hoar-stones, of which there are many in different parts of the kingdom, have been very satisfactorily proved by Mr. Hamper to be Boundary stones.

famous by the second case of pretended witchcraft in 1633, but at some distance from the first-named spot, the residence of Mother Demdike, which lies in the township of Barrowford. The witch's mansion is now, alas! no more. It stood in a field a little elevated on a brow above the building at present called Malkin Tower. The site of the house or cottage is still distinctly traceable, and fragments of the plaster are yet to be found imbedded in the boundary wall of the field. The old road to Gisburne ran almost close to it. It commanded a most extensive prospect in front, in the direction of Alkincoates, Colne, and the Yorkshire moors; while in another direction the vast range of Pendle, nearly intercepted, gloomed in sullen majesty. At the period when Mother Demdike was in being, Malkin Tower would be at some distance from any other habitation; its occupier, as the vulgar would opine —

> 'So choosing solitary to abide
> Far from all neighbours, that her devilish deedes
> And hellish arts from people she might hide,
> And hurt far off unknown whomever she envide.'"

Thomas Shadwell wrote a comedy on this subject, entitled "*The Lancashire Witches, and Tegue o' Divelly the Irish Priest*," published in 1682, 4to. and again 1691, which met with great opposition at the time, on account of the character of Tegue o' Divelly the Irish Priest. The plot was founded in some degree on these trials in 1612, and the proceedings of Old Demdike and her companions. The play, by Heywood and Broome, called "*The Late Lancashire Witches*," 4to. 1634, related to the other circumstances of pretended witchcraft, which took place in 1633.

L. 286. "*If Judges sentence*," &c.] See the side note.

L. 294. ——— "*and scarce see priest to give*
Them ghostlye counsell."]

James, though living at the time when the later trials of the witches of Pendle Forest took place, in 1633, was superior to the superstitions that then prevailed, and attributed these idle and baneful "phansies" to their right cause, the lonely and desert country in which the thinly scattered population lived, and the ignorance and want of spiritual instruction and "ghostlye counsell" under which they laboured. The large parish of Whalley had been deprived of its rich revenues by the dissolution of the Monasteries under Henry

VIII. which had swept away, with rapacious hand, the munificent fruits of piety and religious feeling, and which, says the elegant historian of this parish, "by thus diminishing the numbers of the clergy, destroyed much of that influence which near inspection and personal intercourse with the people always produces, and by impoverishing the foundations which remained, effectually prevented the introduction of learned and able preachers. For the effect was what might be expected — the inferior clergy of that and the succeeding times have been too often contemptible for their poverty among the rich, their ignorance among the refined, and their bad morals among the devout; so that from the want of a well-informed, respectable, and respected ministry, a country antecedently superstitious and stupid, has never been thoroughly evangelized to the present day." We sincerely trust that this melancholy state of things is gradually disappearing. By the building and endowment of additional churches, the multiplication of schools for the instruction of the ignorant and benighted poor, and a greater increase of general knowledge and intelligence, accompanied by purer and better conceptions of the divine agency, these ancient absurdities and debasing delusions are fast dying away. The increase also of commerce and manufactures, and of the attendant comforts and conveniences of life, gives promise of increased bodily and mental improvement, the happy effects of which are daily appearing in the progressive extinction of those horrid and fanatical superstitions which prevailed so extensively here in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and rendered this parish so celebrated in the annals of witchcraft and sorcery.

L. 295. ——— "*Churches farre doe stand*
In lay mens hands."]

Bishop Gastrell, in his *Notitia Cestriensis*, observes in his remarks on the parish of Whalley, that "The Abp. [Cranmer] in his lease of this Rect: reserves to himself and Succ: y^e^ right of Nominating y^e^ Vicar and all y^e^ Curates of y^e^ sev^ll^ Chappells w^ch^ are therein named, viz. Padiham, Colne, Burnley, Church, Altham, Haslingden, Bowland, Pendle, Trawden, Rossendale, and Chap. of Castle at Clithero."

The Patronage of the Chapels, however, was exercised by the Vicar of Whalley, which right was afterwards questioned by Dr. Secker, Archbishop of Canterbury, but ultimately resigned in favour of the Vicar. For particulars of this contest, with some curious letters on the subject, see Whit. *Hist. of Whalley*, pp. 152 and seq. 3d Ed. 1818.

L. 296. "*In lay mens hands.*"] It is not to be understood from this that the patronage of the Churches was vested in unworthy individuals, who neglected to supply the Cures with fit and proper clerks; but that the persons who officiated were merely *laymen*.

"They scarce see *Priest*."

These lay ministers were styled Readers, and had no orders; and it is a curious fact, which we learn from James, viz. that the larger parochial Cures of Colne, Burnley, Church, &c. were so impoverished that they could not support an educated Ecclesiastic. It is quite certain that at no time after the Reformation were the Churches of Whalley parish in "laymen's hands" as Impropriators.

It is a circumstance now too much forgotten, that the ravages of the lay Reformers of the sixteenth century stripped the poorer Churches of their ministers, and left them entirely destitute of the ordinances of religion; and that in a large proportion of the lower foundations in the remote parts of this diocese there were only Readers to be obtained, who were supported by the meagre voluntary offerings of their hearers. This state of things continued until the operation of Queen Anne's Bounty began to effect a change for the better. The following passage on this subject from Southey's *Colloquies on the Progress and Prospects of Society*, is too interesting to be omitted:—

"An increase of clergy proportionate to the increase of the people is still wanting. But the first steps have been taken towards this necessary measure, and something has also been done towards training up a supply of clergy for those remote parts of the country where the cures are miserably poor and the peasantry are the only inhabitants. Such cures were held in these northern counties by unordained persons till about the middle of George the Second's reign, when the Bishops came to a resolution that no one should officiate who was not in orders. But, because there would have been some injustice and some hardship in ejecting the existing Incumbents, they were admitted to Deacon's orders without undergoing any examination. The person who was then Reader, as it was called, at yonder chapel in the vale of Newlands, and who received this kind of ordination, exercised the various trades of tailor, clogger, and butter-print maker." pp. 66—67, vol. ii. 1839.

It is somewhat surprising to find how many laymen were formerly admitted to officiate in the remote Chapels of the Diocese. But it ought also to be remembered, that when laymen leased the Tithes of a district, they nominated or appointed the Officiating Minister to the Church. This

was a right supposed to be vested in the individual who enjoyed the tithes; not a right in the way of privilege, but of duty and obligation. "He who has the tithes shall see that the cure of souls is supplied." Still the *Churches* would not have been in the *hands* of these *lay men*, but the original *endowments* only; whereas if the duties were performed by a Sub-deacon or a Reader, it did not follow that such functionary was in Holy Orders, but the contrary.—See Burn's *Eccles. Law*, under the head *Reader*.

L. 296. "*chappells haue no land.*"] This was a literal fact as regarded nearly every chapel in the parish of Whalley at the time when James wrote this Poem, 1636.

L. 297. "*Sir Jhon.*"] John Butterworth, Clerk, Curate of Haslingden, is mentioned in Wills and Licenses from about 1608 to 163–. But the description here given alludes rather to a class than to an individual, although the subsequent account of this person, and his forty years incumbency, would rather lead to the inference that he was a real than a fictitious character. The title of "Sir John" was merely a soubriquet for an illiterate priest, and often occurs in old writings. How late it continued to be in use, as applied to the inferior clergy, appears from this passage. The reader will find other apposite instances cited by Mr. Way, in his notes on the name John in the *Promptor. Parvul.* vol i. p. 264, as occurring from Chaucer downwards.

L. 298. "*Doe preach for foure pounds vnto Haselingdon.*"] Bishop Gastrell, enumerating the several items of the endowment of Haslingden, records, in 1719, "old allowance, 4^{l} p. an.; — added by Abp. Juxon 7^{l} 10^{s}, as appears by receipt of Curate, an. 1663." James's allusion to this pension settled upon the tithes, and afterwards augmented by a worthy Prelate, is evidently historically accurate.

L. 299. "*hegging corne.*"] Probably errat. for begging corn. Mr. Ormerod mentions that in Cheshire "a custom of *begging corn* begins three weeks before Christmas and ends on Christmas eve. The farmers in the centre of the county are all waited upon by the poor, especially those of their own township, and give generally about a quart for each member of their family; sometimes meal and flour are given in lieu of corn."—*Hist. Chesh.*

Gen. Introduct. vol. i.p. lii. It was not unfrequently the case that parish clerks claimed once a year "a bowle of corn" from each parishioner of substance in former days; and this dole might also have extended to the Curate. The Clerk of Rochdale parish, about 1692, had such a recognised privilege, which he relinquished for a money payment out of the Church rates, and the latter being now withheld, his ancient stipend has been lost.

L. 305. "*But greater wonder calls me hence.*"] The commencement of another excursion.

L. 307. ——————"*on numbers infinite*
Of fir trees," *&c.*]

Although there is hardly any timber now growing on the coast of Lancashire, remarkable only for its dreary and barren sand hills, yet it is clear that the country formerly abounded with wood, for in the moss lands near the sea, large quantities of trees, "black, broken on their rootes," are still found only a few feet from the surface, as if overthrown by some violent commotion, or sudden irruption of the sea.

L. 307.—Note.—"*a place called y^e stocks in Worold..*"] The "stocks" here alluded to by the author were probably "the Meoles stocks," which were trunks of trees on the sea shore, above New Hall, now called Leasowe Castle, in Wallesey parish, in Wirral. This part of Cheshire, though now so bare of trees, was once, according to tradition. so well planted with timber as to give rise to the saying, that "a man might have gone from tree-top to tree-top from the Meoles stocks to Birkenhead;" and to another proverb of the same kind, that—

> "From Bracon Point to Hilbree,
> A squirrel might leap from tree to tree."
>
> See *Hist. Chesh.* vol. ii., p. 262.

L. 308. "*cesses.*"] i. e. probably, excavations filled with water. (So *cess*-pool.)

L. 321. "*Sarayna.*"] Torelli Sarayna, to distinguish him from others of that name, was a Doctor of Laws, but is not to be confounded with the celebrated Lelio Torelli, editor of the Pandects. His book was printed at

Verona in 1540, with the following title, "Torelli Sarayna Veronensis Leg. Doct. de Origine et Amplitudine Civitatis Veronæ. Veron. 1540." fol. It is ornamented with a fine portrait of the author, and several large woodcuts of the architecture and antiquities of that city. An Italian translation of the work by Orlando Pecetti, was published at Verona in 1586, and again in 1646, 4to. The work is also printed in the large and valuable collection by Grævius, entitled "Thesaurus Antiquitatum et Historiarum Italiæ," fol. Lugd. Bax. 1704—23. Vol. 9, Pars. 7.

L. 323. "*wale,*"] or wall, i. e. wave. Sax. unda, fluctus: from the same root with Wele; or Eng., well, a fountain;—all as conveying the idea of ebullition.—See Jamieson's *Scot. Dict.*

L. 324. "*at Conyngton was found a whale,*"] Conington, a village in Huntingdonshire, not far from Stilton, was the property and residence of the friend of James, the celebrated collector, Sir Robert Cotton, Bart., who, on making an excavation for a pond, found the skeleton of a sea fish, twenty feet long, lying in perfect silt, about six feet below the surface of the ground, and on a mound above the level of the fens.

L. 324.] "*And ofte earths bossome y^e^ rich priz'd hornes*
Of counter-poyson sea-fish vnicornes."

It is curious to find, from this passage, how late the vulgar error of the counter-poison qualities of the horn of the unicorn obtained. Few persons, however, have correctly assigned the horn to the Narwhal and not the quadruped as James does, who perhaps took the hint from his friend and fellow-traveller, Tradescant. At the King's Library at Paris, the gigantic horn, long preserved as a treasure beyond all price in the Abbey of St. Denis, and presented, we believe, by St. Louis, is still shown. There is scarcely an inventory of the plate, jewels, and treasure of the Sovereign or of great Estates, in which mention of the unicorn's horn does not occur; and we remember that even among the valuable effects of the warlike Henry the Fifth, given in the Parliamentary Rolls, it appears that he was possessed of a piece of this valued preservative.

L. 330. "*Pechora.*"] There is a town called Petchora in Russia, in the province of Riga, near to a large lake called Lake Pskovskoie. But the

author is here more probably alluding to the river Petchora, in the province of Archangel, which rises among the Oural mountains, and after a long course, and receiving several tributary streams by the way, empties itself into the Arctic sea on the north. James might possibly have visited this river in his early travels in Russia, and were his MS. "Observations" which he made on that country still in existence, they might have afforded some illustration of the author's allusion to this river Pechora.

L. 335. "*I Hubberts and Tradescants ernest prize,*"] i. e. their museums of natural curiosities.

L. 335. "*Hubberts.*"] Robert Hubbert, alias Forges, who styles himself "servant to his Majesty" Charles II., collected many natural curiosities, which he exhibited at the Mitre, near the west end of St. Paul's. A Catalogue of these was printed in 1664, with the following title, "A Catalogue of many Natural Rarities collected with great industry and cost and thirty years Travail into foreign countries, by Robert Hubert (alias Forges) Gent., Sworn Serv^{t} to his Ma^{tie}, and daily to be seen at y^{e} place called y^{e} Musick house at y^{e} Mitre near y^{e} West End of S^{t} Paul's Church." They were afterwards sold, and bought by Mr. Colville for £30, and given by him to the Royal Society. — See Bagford's MSS. in the British Museum, Harl. Coll. 5898, fol. 41.

L. 335 "*Tredescants.*"] John Tradescant, celebrated for his knowledge of botany, and collection of natural curiosities, was a native of Holland. It is not known when he first came into England, but in 1629 he was gardener to King Charles I., and resided at South Lambeth in Surrey. He had travelled much in different parts of Europe, and, as appears from the side note, had been accompanied by James in some of his journeys. He was one of the first persons in this country who formed a collection of natural and artificial curiosities, and was followed by his son in the same pursuit. An account of this museum was printed in 1656, entitled "Museum Tradescantianum; or, a Collection of Rarities preserved at South-Lambeth neer London, by John Tradescant," 12mo. Lond. 1656, to which are prefixed two portraits of the father and son, by W. Hollar, and a plate of arms of the Tradescants; the original paintings of which are now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. John Tradescant the younger died in 1662, and either sold or bequeathed the collection to Elias Ashmole, who at his death left it, with his own additions, to the University of Oxford, and thus founded the

Ashmolean Museum. There is a curiously ornamented monument in memory of the family in Lambeth Church yard, erected by the widow of the younger Tradescant.

L. 339. "*At Norton Abbye now y^e^ Brookes land*
Twice big as life Saint Christopher doth stand."]

In the garden at Norton Priory in Cheshire, the seat of Sir Richard Brooke, Bart., is an ancient gigantic figure of St. Christopher, carrying the infant Jesus, which is given in Buck's View of the Priory taken in 1727, and of which there is also a neatly engraved vignette in Ormerod's *Hist. Cheshire*, vol. i. p. 505.

L. 341. "*One giant stone.*"] Villegas, in his *Lives of the Saints*, observes of St. Christopher, — "He was very bigge of body, and talle of stature, and carried in his hand a great staffe agreeable vnto his strength. . . . . Before his death the holy Saint made his prayer vnto God, and desired him humbly, that in the place where his body was buried, or any part thereof should be, that tempests and earthquakes might doe no harme. This (as it seemeth) is the cause that the picture of S. Christopher is ordinarily in euery Church, more than the pictures of other saints; and though his body or his reliques cannot be in euery place, yet at the least they set his Image there, that they may resort thither in time of such necessitie, and be deliuered from the rage of tempests, stormes, and earthquakes, by the merits and intercession of this holy Saint. Therefore the Christians depaint him in euery Church and place, that all men may enjoy that fauour."

"Neither neede we to wonder, if S. Christopher were great of stature, for S. Augustine in the 15. booke, 9 chap. *De ciuitate Dei*, saith, that in ancient times, men were very taule. Plinie in the 7. booke, 2 chap. saith there be found men in Scithia of 50 cubits. S. Isidore affirmeth, that the Macrobii, people of India, are 12 foote high. Strabo in the 7 booke saith, that in the sepulchre of Antheus, was found his body, which being measured was of 60 cubits."—See *The Lives of Saints*, by Alph. Villegas, 3d edit. 4to, 1630. p. 510.

L. 341. ——— "*and in Hale chappel wee*
Againe him painted with Saint George do see
In y^e^ East windowe."]

The present chapel at Hale having been rebuilt so lately as 1758, there

exist no remains of the painted East window, containing these figures of St. George and St. Christopher; but there can be little doubt that this window was originally placed there by Adam Ireland, Lord of Hutte and of Hale, (in right of his wife, Avena, the daughter of Sir Robert Holland of Hale,) who built a portion of the original chapel at Hale, and was living in 1315.

L. 343. ——— "*Hylin lett thy penne*
Once more from hence proue yf theis shows were men."]

Dr. Peter Heylin, an eminent divine of the Church of England, of considerable learning and industry, and the author of numerous works which are now rising again into esteem, was born at Burford in Oxfordshire in 1599, educated at Oxford, made Chaplain in ordinary to Charles I., from whom he received valuable preferment, and was much noticed and employed by Archbishop Laud. During the ascendancy of the parliamentary party he was stripped of all his preferment, deprived of his curious and valuable library, and reduced to great poverty and distress. But on the restoration of Charles II. he recovered all his various spiritualities, which, however he did not long enjoy, but died in 1662 in the sixty-second year of his age. In 1631 Dr. Heylin published "The Historie of that most famous Saint and Souldier of Christ Jesus, St. George of Cappadocia; asserted from the Fictions of the Middle Ages of the Church and Opposition of the present, Lond. 1631," 4to., in which he endeavoured to prove, that such an individual really had existed in opposition to the general belief that he was an imaginary being. A second edition, corrected and enlarged, but with some omissions, was published in 1633, 4to.

Heylin had the misfortune to fall under the censure of Dr. Prideaux, Rector of Exeter College, Oxford, afterwards Bishop of Worcester, at that time a popular man with the puritanical party, who had, however, some time before, published a Latin Lecture on the Sabbath, and advocated opinions therein not much in unison with those maintained by the Puritans. When the Proclamation generally called the *Book of Sports* was re-issued, a great clamour was raised against Charles I. and Laud, of which Heylin, as Chaplain to both, had his share. To vindicate the proceedings of the King and Archbishop, and to lessen Prideaux's influence with the Sabbatarians and Puritans, Heylin translated Prideaux's Lecture upon the Sabbath, and added a pungent Preface, which answered the objects that he had in view. This was in 1633, and it is not improbable that James

had this controversy in his mind when he, with much dry sarcasm, makes allusion to "Saint Sunday," in line 346. A full account of Heylin, and of his controversies with Prideaux and Archbishop Williams, with a copious notice of his numerous works, will be found in Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* v. iii. p. 552. 4to. ed. Bliss. See also Newcourt's *Rep. Eccles.* vol. i. p. 925; and Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, p. 90. part ii.[1]

[1] The editor may perhaps be pardoned for reprinting from the *Ath. Oxon.* vol. iii. p. 568, the following copy of verses, which appear to him to possess considerable merit. They were written by Heylin on the occasion of presenting his intended wife, Mrs. Letitia Highgate, of Middlesex, with a very richly gilded copy of the Holy Scriptures:—

Could this outside beholden be
To cost and cunning equally;
Or were it such as might suffice
The luxury of curious eyes;
Yet would I have my dearest look
Not on the cover, but the book.

If thou art merry, here are airs;
If melancholy, here are prayers;
If studious, here are those things writ,
Which may deserve thy ablest wit;
If hungry, here is food divine;
If thirsty, nectar, heavenly wine!

Read then, but first thyself prepare
To read with zeal, and mark with care;
And when thou read'st what here is writ,
Let thy best practise second it;
So twice each precept read shall be,
First in the book, and next in thee.

Much reading may thy spirits wrong,
Refresh them therefore with a song;
And, that thy musick praise may merit,
Sing David's Psalms with David's spirit;
That as thy voice doth pierce men's ears,
So shall thy prayer and vows the spheres.

Thus read, thus sing, and then to thee
The very earth a heav'n shall be;

L. 344. "*proove yt theis shews were men,*"] i. e. that these saints really had an existence, and were not merely imaginary beings.

L. 345. "*Wickham.*"] There are several places of this name in England, so that it is difficult to ascertain to which of them James here refers. We fear, also, that the painted glass mentioned in the side note as adorning "the south casement of Wickham church," has not escaped the destructive hand of the Puritans, like the Middleton window, but perished in the great Rebellion; otherwise such a personification of St. Sunday would be a fact of a novel and interesting nature, and worthy of further investigation.

L. 345. "*nesh,*"] soft, tender, delicate, but here perhaps used in the sense of nice, scrupulous, unwilling to come. This is a Lancashire word, and also still retained in the central counties, but generally in the first named sense.

L. 346. "*Saint Sunday.*"] This is a very remarkable passage in the poem, and the first time we have ever heard of the personification of St. Sunday, who is completely unknown to hagiographers. There is no doubt the day was converted into a saint in the same manner as St. Cross, St. Trinity, or St. Saviour, now generally called *Holy* Cross, *Holy* Trinity, &c.; although examples of the former mode of expression are yet found in some old places, as at York and Winchester. It is evident that the author considers Saint Sunday quite as apocryphal as St. Christopher or St. George.

It is possible that Saint Sunday may be St. Dominica. There appear to to have been two females of that name. One of them, a virgin, was born at Carthage, and flourished about the time of Theodosius the great; she visited Constantinople with four other virgins, and was baptized by Nectarius. She died in 475; her day was January 8. It is a singular coincidence that with her were canonized S. *Georgius* Chozebites, and S. Æmilianus.—See Zedler.

L. 346. "*a lesh,*"] i. e. a leash — three; viz. St. Christopher, St. George, and St. Sunday.

> If thus thou readest, thou shalt find
> A private heaven within thy mind;
> And singing thus before thou die
> Thou sing'st thy part to those on high.

L. 348. "*Or els he feares y^e^ strong Maypolian band.*"] The meaning of this line appears to be, that Heylin, the undaunted and haughty opponent of the Puritans, would be considered afraid of that body — the vigorous enemies of Maypoles and Sunday sports — unless he vindicated opinions and usages which they rejected.[1]

L. 350. "*At Heywood hall.*"] Heywood Hall, in the township of Heap, the residence, at the time of James's visit, of one of the most ancient families in the parish of Bury, is situated about half a mile to the north-east of the populous village of the same name. It is beautifully embosomed in wood, consisting of lofty beech, oak, chesnut, and other trees, on a rising elevation above the valley of the river Roach, which flows not far from the grounds. The house, which is partly covered with ivy, has been entirely modernized, so that with the exception of an old gable, and some portion of the offices, little remains visible of the more ancient edifice. The interior is replete with every comfort, and surrounded with extensive gardens and pleasure grounds, and is at present occupied by James Fenton, Jun., Esq.

L. 350. "*trading Rachdale.*"] In post mortem inquisitions in the time of Henry VIII., "Walk Mills," or Fulling Mills, frequently occur; and in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I., the woollen trade of the parish of Rochdale was very considerable. It is supposed to have been originally introduced by Flemish emigrants in the time of Edward III.

L. 351. ——————"*much I owe*
Of praise and thanks to y^e^ where'er I goe."

James continues here to speak with great affection of this place, and of the family of that name, who then owned it. From what motives he

[1] Since the note on Saint Sunday was printed, the Editor has had his attention called by a friend to a singular corroborative evidence of the supposed existence of such a Saint as is in vain sought for in the Calendar, which is afforded by the letter of Oliver Cromwell to Speaker Lenthall, written from Dublin, September, 1649, in which he recites the sanguinary details of the capture of Drogheda by the Parliamentary army, and how a body of the besieged garrison took refuge in a strong round tower next the gate called *St. Sunday's*.

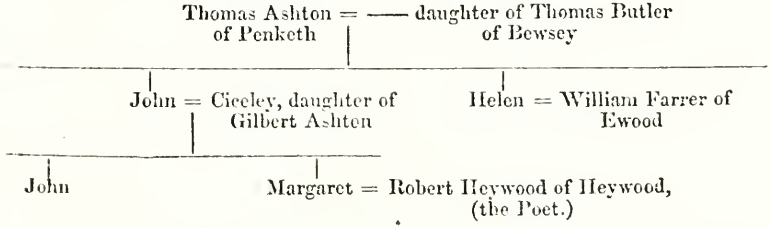
This is curious, and it is not improbable that this unknown Saint may yet be found in Ireland.

was induced to visit it, or to become so tenderly attached to it, is still involved in obscurity. The editor is unable to impart any further light on this subject, beyond the conjecture thrown out in the note on line 34; unless the following information may be thought by our readers to bear further on this point.

William Farrer, of Ewood Hall, in the parish of Halifax, Esq., married *Thomasine* daughter of *Richard James*, of *Portsmouth*, Esq., and had a daughter, who died January 10, 1660. Their son, John, married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of the Rev. James Creswick, B.D., of Beal, near Ferry-bridge, (whose manuscript *Memoirs* are named by Thoresby,) and died 1722-3, leaving a son and heir, James, who married at Rochdale in 1696, Mary, daughter and co-heiress of John Brearley, of Rochdale, Gent., and dying suddenly December 18th, 1718, left a son, James, Lord of the Manor of Wortley in 1764. His representative is the present Walter Hawkesworth Fawkes, of Farnley, Esq.

Isaac Farrer, Gent., a younger son of John Farrer, of Ewood, Esq., Justice of Peace, by his third wife, Judith, daughter of Edward Oldfield, of High Oldfield, in the parish of Halifax, Gent., married at Rochdale, Patience, third daughter of Thomas Buckley, of Little Howarth, Gent., third son, and eventually heir general, of Abel Buckley, of Buckley, Esq. Isaac Farrer died at Rochdale in 1708, and his widow in 1721.

The Buckleys were connected by marriage with their neighbours, the Howarths of Howarth; and several of the other families mentioned by James in his Poem were either nearly or remotely allied to them. The following slight Pedigree will show that a connection also existed between the Farrers of Ewood and the Heywoods; but their precise degree of relationship to the author of the *Iter* still remains to be discovered.



L. 357. "*Amongst y^e Dingles and y^e Apennines.*"] These words appear to refer to the mountainous district of country, diversified by romantic vallies

and dells, (commonly called dingles,) lying between the Ribble and the Mersey. The description, however, is peculiarly applicable to the scenery in the neighbourhood of Heywood and Rochdale.

L. 359. ———— "*When all England is aloft*
Then happie they whose dwelling's in Christ's crofte.
And where thincke you this crofte of Christ should be
But midst Ribchesters Ribble and Mercy?"]

This old rhyming proverb is not given in Ray's Collection, nor in that of Grose.

Like some others of the same kind, it serves for different counties besides Lancashire. In Yorkshire it is given thus: —

"When all the world shall be aloft,
Then Hallamshire shall be God's croft," &c.

L. 363. "*My passadge hether I not liste to tell.*"] The author here starts off to the subject of another excursion which he had made.

L. 364. "*Though then I save Saint Anne and Buckstones well.*"] There appears to be little doubt that the warm springs at Buxton were known to the Romans, and that the lead mines also in this neighbourhood were worked by them, as alluded to by James in the side note near the bottom of page 11. The warm baths at Buxton began to be be in much repute in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and have continued so ever since.

It is unnecessary here to say anything of the well known wonders of the Peak, of which this enumeration by James is both an early and curious notice.

L. 370. "*mole-warps,*"] i. e. moles. It is so used by Shakespeare and other old writers. Thus Hotspur, in the first part of Henry IV. iii. 1 —

"Sometimes he angers me
With telling me of the *mold-warp* and the ant."

L. 371. "*wall-tiding,*"] i. e. wave-tiding. See Wall, a wave. Jamieson's *Scotch Dict.* This alludes, of course, to the ebbing and flowing well near Tideswell. See note on line 323.

L. 372. "*His worships breetch.*"] We cannot but admire the delicacy with which James here alludes to the popular name of the celebrated cavern at Castleton.

L. 375. "*Chetwyn.*"] Sir Walter Chetwynd, of Ingestrie, in the county of Stafford, Knt., was the eldest son of Sir William Chetwynd, Knt., who died June 14, 1612, by his first wife, Atalanta Huick, of Stillested, in the county of Kent. Sir Walter Chetwynd was sheriff of Staffordshire in 1607, and married, first, Mary, daughter and heiress of John Molyns, of the county of Somerset, Esq., by whom he had no issue; secondly, the Lady Catherine Hastings, eldest daughter of George, fourth Earl of Huntingdon, and widow of Sir Edward Unton, by whom he had two sons, Walter, his heir, and John the father of the first Lord Chetwynd.

Walter Chetwynd, of Ingestrie, Esq., his eldest son and heir, married Frances, daughter of Edward Haslerigg, Esq. She survived her husband, and married, secondly, Sir Wolstan Dixie, Knt., and died in 1686. This Walter Chetwynd was succeeded by his only son, Walter Chetwynd, of Ingestrie, Esq., the celebrated antiquary, (Bishop Nicholson's "venerandæ antiquitatis cultor maximus,") who rebuilt the Church at Ingestrie in 1677, and died without issue 21st March, 1692-3.

We are not aware that any relationship or connection existed between Sir Walter Chetwynd, James's "hoast of honour," and his other friends mentioned in the poem. It does not, however, follow, that anything more than friendship or acquaintance should have existed, to have brought them together; and doubtless, at the table of his friend Sir Robert Cotton, James would meet with many learned and distinguished individuals, who would honour him for his erudition, and, from his knowledge of foreign countries, find him an agreeable companion.

L. 375. "*Crewe.*] This was Sir Randulph Crewe, who purchased the Manor and Lordship of Crewe, about the year 1610, from the heirs of Sir Christopher Hatton, Knt., and built the present hall at Crewe, which was completed about 1636. The Lordship of Crewe had from a very early period been the seat and inheritance of a family of this name, Henry de Criwa, or Crewe, being an attesting witness to a deed executed so early as the middle of the twelfth century. Joan, eldest daughter and coheiress of Thomas de Crewe, who died 21st Edw. I. the last heir male of the elder

branch of the family, married Richard Praers of Barthomley, whose granddaughter, Elizabeth, conveyed Crewe, by her marriage, to Sir Robert Fulleshurst, Knt., mentioned in page 24, from whose descendants it was purchased by Sir Christopher Hatton, Knt., afterwards Lord Chancellor in 1578.

Sir Randulph Crewe, the restorer of this branch of the family to the seat of their ancestors, was born in 1558, bred up to the study of the law, in which he was so successful as to be appointed Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, which office, however, he held for only two years. He attained the age of 87 years, and dying January 13th, 1645, was buried at Barthomley.

L. 377. "*To y^e^ young heyre of Speke.*"] This would probably be Edward, son of William Norris, Esq. and Margaret, his wife, daughter of Sir Thomas Salisbury, Knt., of Chawens, in the county of Denbigh. He died early in life in 1664, having married Frances, daughter of Sir Thomas Powell, Knt., of Horsley, in the county of Denbigh; and leaving no issue male surviving, the estate passed to his brother Thomas, born September 23, 1618, and died July 6, 1700.

L. 377. "*In Stevens right.*"] Alan le Noreis, or Norris, of Sutton, in the county of Lancaster, with whom the Pedigree begins, occurs in a deed, sans date, but probably as old as the middle of the twelfth century; and this reference no doubt is to King Stephen. The sixth in descent from Alan le Norris was Sir William, who obtained the Manor of Speke by marriage with Jane, daughter and heiress of Sir John Molyneux, of Sefton, Knt. This Alan le Norris might be the "old Sire" who fought at the Battle of the Standard.

L. 378. "*Whose old Sire did y^e^ standards battle fight.*"] The battle of the Standard was fought at Northallerton, in Yorkshire, on the 22d August, 1138, in the reign of King Stephen, when David, King of Scotland, who had advanced into Yorkshire in support of the title of his niece, the Empress Matilda, the only legitimate child of Henry I., to the throne of England, against the usurpation of Stephen, was totally defeated by some of the powerful Barons of the North, and narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the English. It was called the battle of the *Standard* from a high crucifix erected by the English on a waggon, and carried along with the army as a military ensign.

L. 379. "*And from whose house and name of late were seene*
Two chiefs of warre vnto our mayden Queene."]

One of these would be Sir William Norris, of Speke, K.B. at the coronation of King James the First. He married Helen, daughter of Sir William Molyneux, of Sefton, Knt., by whom he had issue seven sons and four daughters, and died about 1626. The other was doubtless Sir John Norris, Knt., a brave and accomplished General in the reign of Elizabeth. He was the second son of Henry Norris, of Wytham, in the county of Berks, summoned to Parliament by the title of Baron Norris, of Rycot, in the county of Oxford, by Margaret, daughter of John Lord Williams, of Thame. He is said to have had three horses killed under him in one day, whilst fighting abroad in the Netherlands. He was sent over to Ireland as Commander in the reign of Elizabeth, and died there unmarried in 1597, of grief and disappointment at not having been appointed Deputy of Ireland on the recalling of Sir William Russell, Knt. The Earl of Abingdon is the present representative of the Rycot branch of the Norris family. — See Torre's MSS. vol. v. p. 767, folio, and Fuller's *Worthies*, Lond. 1662, folio, p. 335.

L. 381. "*To Rigby of ye Hut.*"] We are not confident in our conjectures respecting this person, but we believe him to be Col. Alexander Rigby, the Parliamentary Commander, and friend of Col. Assheton, also visited by James. He was the eldest son and heir of Alexander Rigby, of Wigan and Peel, in the county of Lancaster, Esq., by Alice, daughter of Leonard A— Shaw or Ashaw, of the Shaw, in the county of Lancaster, Esq. He was born in the year 1592, (the same year that James was born,) being æt. 21 at the time the Visitation of Lancashire was taken in 1613, and was brought up to the profession of the law; but, in those spirit-stirring times, exchanged his pen for a sword, and became a distinguished commander in the service of the Parliament, and was actively employed at the siege of Lathom House in 1644. He represented Wigan in Parliament in 1640, and married Lucy, sister to Thomas Legh, of Adlington, Esq. He was the elder brother of George Rigby, of Peel, Esq., to whom the estate of Peel appears to have descended, who was clerk of the Peace for the county of Lancaster, married Beatrix, eldest daughter of William Hulton, of Hulton Park, Esq., and rebuilt the Hall at Peel in 1634. From the Rigbys the estate passed into the family of Kenyon, by the marriage of Roger Kenyon with Alice Rigby, and is now the property of the Right Honourable George, second

Lord Kenyon. According to Dugdale, Col. Alexander Rigby was of "Middleton in Goosnargh," near Preston, and died in 1650. We are unable to state why he is called "of y^e^ Hut," which at that time belonged to the family of the Irelands. — See Ormerod's *Civil War Tracts*, p. 351.

L. 382. "*We plentie had of Clarett.*"] "Port wine was usually called Claret in the North, (in 1691,) as it is still by the common people." See Whitaker's *Whalley*, p. 478, third edition.

L. 383. "*To Sander Butterworth whoe ledd mee cleane*," &c.] This was Alexander Butterworth, second son of Alexander Butterworth, Esq. (who died in 1623), by his wife, Grace, daughter of William Asheton, of Clegg Hall, in the parish of Rochdale, Esq., and co-heiress of her sole brother, Dr. Theophilus Asheton, a Lawyer. He was of the ancient family of Butterworth, of Butterworth in the parish of Rochdale, seated there early in the reign of Stephen, who removed in 2. Edward I. to Belfield Hall, adjacent to the banks of the Beile, in the same parish, (which had formerly been part of the possessions of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem.) He was baptised at Rochdale 10th April, 1597, and was dead in 1664-5. The last heir male of this ancient family was Alexander Butterworth, of Belfield Hall, Esq., High Sheriff of Lancashire in 1675. He married Sarah, daughter of William Horton, of Barkisland, in the county of York, Esq., by whom he had several children, all of whom he survived; and dying in 1728, æt. 88 years, devised his large estates in Lancashire and Cheshire, and the whole of his personalty, to his agent, Mr. Richard Townley, of Rochdale, a stranger in blood, (said to be a descendant of the Townleys of Royle, near Burnley,) and great grandfather of Richard Greaves Townley, of Fulbourn, Esq., late M.P. for the county of Cambridge, by whom they are now possessed. Colonel Richard Townley, in the year 1752, repaired and new fronted the old Hall of Belfield; which, however, is now deserted by its owners, and has been for some years occupied by wealthy and respectable tenants.

L. 384. "*Through all y^e^ cataracts of Healo dene.*"] The hamlet of Healey (Highfield), in the township of Spotland, is remarkable for its deep and woody dingles, or ravines, in which the Spodden "struggles for its passage through a channel of excavated rock;" and forms by the way several small falls, or "cataracts," before it empties itself into the Roach. In this hamlet,

placed on an elevated site, immediately above one of these woody dingles, and commanding an unbounded prospect over the surrounding country, as far as the forest of Delamere, stands Healey Hall, the abode, for a long period, of the ancient family of the Chadwicks, and still the occasional residence of its present proprietor, Hugo Mavesyn Chadwick, of Mavesyn Ridware, in Staffordshire, Esq. The house, though standing high on the skirts of the hills, is well sheltered by growing plantations, which, "added to the natural beauties of its hanging woods, rocks, and rude cascades, form some delightful scenery on the romantic banks of the Spodden."

The family of the Chadwicks were nearly connected with the author's friends, the Heywoods; John Chadwick, of Healey Hall, Esq., having, in 1551, married Agnes, daughter of James Heywood, of Heywood, gent. He died in 1615, having attained the patriarchal age of 103, and is buried in Rochdale Church. Robert Chadwick of Healey Hall, Esq., also married Alice, daughter of Edward Butterworth, of Belfield, gent., in 1581, who was the aunt of Alexander Butterworth mentioned in the preceding note, which may account for the ramble commemorated in the Poem, had not the splendid scenery of Healey Deyne, which retains some of its ancient and romantic features even in our day, been a sufficient inducement for the visit.

L. 385. "*To Robin Howorth from whose familie*
Great Noble peers derive their progenie."]

This was Robert Howorth of Howorth, Esq., in the township of Hundersfield or Honorsfeld, in the eastern portion of the parish of Rochdale, on the borders of Yorkshire, descended from an ancient family seated there in the time of Henry II., who bestowed certain lands in Howord, in the vill of Honorsfeld, upon Osbert Howord de Howord, for his good and faithful services, and made him Master of the Royal Buck Hounds. Robert Howorth was the twenty-second in lineal descent from this Osbert de Howord, whose name appears in a deed without date, but undoubtedly of the time of Henry II. He was son and heir of Edmund Howarth, of Howarth Hall, Esq., and was baptized at Rochdale in 1601. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Lieut. Col. Alvery Copley, of Batley, in the county of York, and was buried with his ancestors in the chancel of Rochdale Church, March 28, 1639. His only surviving son, Robert, dying in London unmarried in 1654, (having been called to the Bar a short time previously,) the estates reverted to Theophilus

Howarth, M.D., of Manchester,[1] whose grandson, the Rev. Radclyffe Howarth, D.C.L., Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxon., (being Founder's kin,) died unmarried in December, 1768, and by Will, dated 13th October, 1767, devised his lands in the parish of Rochdale, not to the daughters of his aunt, but to Miss Elizabeth Sams, a descendant of the Buckleys, of Buckley, a lady apparently unconnected by any near ties except those of friendship, by whom the Howarth estate was sold to John Entwisle, of Foxholes, Esq., grandfather of the present possessor.

L. 386. "*Great Noble peers derive their progenie.*"] Dr. Whitaker, in his *Hist. Whalley*, p. 544–5, 3d edit., has entered very minutely into this supposition by James of the Ducal family of the Howards being derived from the Howards or Howarths of Howarth Hall, in Honorsfeld, and has shown that Sir William Dugdale is unable to bring forward any proof of the existence of such a connection. Dugdale's allusion to this subject, and to Richard James, B.D., is in the following words, transcribed from the original:—

"Venerabilis viri Richardi Jamesii, Vectensis, de præclarissimorum et honoratissimorum Howardorum ortu et origine judicium et testimonium. *Iter Lancastrense* a venerabile viro Richardo Jamesio, Vectensi, sacro sanctæ Theologiæ Bac: è Coll. Corporio Christi Oxon. Socio seniori, nec non celeberrimi Antiquarii Roberti Cottoni Militis Aurati amicissimo, heroico metro compositum (Añ servatoris millesimo sexen^mo trigesimo septimo) prænobiles et honoratissimos Howardorum duces comites Barones ab Howardorum de Howard Hall (in Honorsfield in Parochiâ de Rachdale in Com. Lancastriæ) ortum et illustrem stemmatis originem deduxisse contestatur,

[1] Theophilus Howarth, M.D., of Howarth Hall, was baptized at Rochdale 2d January, 1613-14; entered of Magdalen College, Cambridge, M.D., July 2, 1661; married Mary, daughter of Henry Ashurst, of Ashurst, in the county of Sussex, Esq.; and was a resident in Manchester, where he was an able and active Magistrate, and much esteemed by the Royalist party. He died on the 9th of April, 1671, at Manchester, where he had distinguished himself by his fidelity to the cause of Charles I., and was buried on the 12th of the same month, within the Vaults of the Collegiate Church. He was an attesting witness to the Will of Humphrey Chetham, December 8, 1651, and had doubtless attended that good and charitable person in his last illness.—See the *Life of Adam Martindale*, p. 193, and Mr. Parkinson's Note on the same.

Will. Dugdale Arm. Norroij Rex Armor: heroicos Richardi Jamesii versus perlegit cujus sententiæ prefatus W. D. subscripto proprià manu."

In the possession of John Elliott, Esq., of Rochdale, there exists another document, in English, to the same effect, in the handwriting of Dugdale, a copy of which was inserted, by Mr. Elliott's permission, in Baines's *Hist. of Lancash.*, vol. ii. p. 643; and as it varies a little from the former statement, and also mentions the place of custody of the original MS. of the *Iter Lancastrense* at that period, it is here added:—

"Whereas I, William Dugdale, esquire, Norroy Principall Herald, and Kinge of Armes of the Northerne parts of England, or the further side of Trent, have seene and read a MS. entituled, 'Iter Lancastrense,' or the 'Lancashire Itinerary,' written by Richard James, born in the Isle of Wight, Bachelor of Divinity, and one of the Senior Fellows of Corpus Christi College, in Oxford; a diligent researcher into, and a great lover of ancient records, an intimate acquaintance and friend of the famous and learned antiquary, Sir Robert Cotton, Knt., which he writ in heroicke verse, with large marginal notes, in the year of our Lord God 1637:—I doe hereby make known to all the Nobility and Gentry of England that the 'Iter Lancastrense' doth attest and beare record that the Illustrious Dukes, the Honourable Earls, the Noble Barons, and Knights of the renowned family of the Howards, did derive their originall from the ancient progeny of the Howords of Howord Hall, in the vill, or territorie of Howord, in Honorsfeld, in the parish of Ratchdale, and county of Lancaster; which said MS. being by me, William Dugdale aforesaid, perused, and nowe in the custody of Theophilus Howard of Howard, Doctor of Physicke, and one of the candidates of the Colledge of Physitians in London,—I, for record and testimony of these things above specified, sett to my hand and seale of my office, the 8th of April, 1665; 17th of Chas. II.

"WILLM. DUGDALE,
NORROY KING OF ARMES."

It is somewhat remarkable that no account exists in the Heralds' College respecting this instance of what Whitaker terms "the capacious faith" of Dugdale; nor is there any notice of the Lancashire Howarths in his account of the ducal house of Howard, in *The Baronage*. A short pedigree, not very carefully deduced, is the only notice of this truly ancient family now remaining in the former depository.

L. ibid, Note. "*Howorth castle.*"] There is no memorial of such a place in Rochdale, unless the Howarths were the descendants of the old Lords of Rochdale, who are supposed to have occupied the *Castle* in Castleton, which is very doubtful, and not on record.

L. ibid, Note. "*Thome de Haworth.*"] Thomas de Haworth, son and heir of William de Haworth, of Haworth Hall, in the parish of Rochdale, by his wife Alice, daughter of Hugh del Holte, in Butterworth, in the parish aforesaid.

Thomas Haworth married, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, whilst yet a minor, Margaret, daughter of —— Mylne, of Mylne House, in Hundersfield; but the marriage does not appear to have been solemnized, and was probably only a contract afterwards annulled.

He married secondly, Annette, daughter of William de Butterworth, of Butterworth, in the parish of Rochdale, a female related in the second degree to Margaret; and being "sybbe," the marriage was pronounced invalid. By this wife he had a son, Hugh de Haworth, living in 1448—1461.

He married thirdly, during the lives of his first two wives, at Heptonstall Church, in the county of York, Sir John de Bury being the officiating Priest, Isabella, daughter of William de Butterworth, and sister of Annette aforesaid, ante October 16, 1416, and by her had issue Edmund and four other sons, and a daughter, married to Elias de Deurden.

In the 30th Henry VI., 1452, considerable litigation ensued between Hugh de Haworth and Edmund de Haworth, respecting the inheritance of their father's lands, he being alive, but not knowing which son was his legal heir. To legalize his second marriage, he obtained a divorce from his third wife, and declared that Hugh was his right heir. But afterwards, when he came to lie upon his death-bed, he acknowledged, in the presence of many witnesses, that Edmund was his lawful heir, and that he devised his lands to him. This was on the 13th March, 1461.

The whole of these legal proceedings, and the subsequent very curious disputes between Edmund and his cousin Bernard de Haworth, son of James, next brother of Thomas de Haworth, who claimed the lands as heir at law, and was living 9th Edw. IV. 1470, are still amongst the Haworth Evidences.

There seems to be little doubt that this "parliamentane pardon of Henrye y^e^ sixts time," mentioned in the side note, had some connection with these

extraordinary marriages, which even at that period excited a very strong feeling of disapprobation throughout the country.

Perhaps it ought to be added, that after a variety of contrary opinions had been pronounced, both by ecclesiastics and laymen, Edmund de Haworth succeeded as heir of his father.

L. 387. "*To Roman Nowell.*"] Roger Nowell, Esq., of Read Hall, near Clitheroe, baptised March 13, 1605, a colonel in Charles the First's service, deputy-lieutenant, and a justice of the peace for the county of Lancaster. He married Dorothy, daughter of John Holte, of Stubley Hall, near Rochdale, Esq., and, dying at the advanced age of ninety years, was buried at Whalley, May 25, 1695. He was one of the twenty gentlemen of this county, who, for their loyalty, were returned, in 1660, as qualified to be made Knights of the Royal Oak, his estate being estimated at £1,000 per annum. The arms of the family are engraved in Whitaker's *Hist. Whalley*, p. 264, edit. 3d. His marriage with Dorothy Holte would bring him into affinity with the Heywoods, through the Greenhalghs, and Holtes of Ashworth.

L. 387. "*Roman Nowell.*"] For the addition of the word *Roman*, as applied to Nowell, see the marginal note at the end of the poem, and the reference to Pliny.

L. ibid, Note. "*y^e three cups.*"] "The word Nowell, or Noel, a corruption of Natalis, meaning *Deus nobiscum*, indicates the festival of our Lord's Nativity, and likewise a cry of joy appropriate to the season, and by degrees came to signify a convivial cry in general; in which sense it appears to have been in use as late as the days of Chaucer.[1]

Of the occasion on which the name was assumed, or imposed perhaps on some one eminent for his festive talents, there is no tradition; but whether the Christmas cry, or the Christmas cup, like the wassail bowl, (et calices

[1] "And drinketh of his bugle horn the wine:
Before him stant braune of the tusked swine,
And *nowel* crieth every lvsty man."
See Tyrwhitt's edition of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, line 11,567, 4to, Oxford, 1798; and Mr. Tyrwhitt's note upon it.

poscit majores,) were the distinct meaning, there is no doubt that the covered cups in the family arms allude to the circumstance; and as heraldry delights in such devices or parodies, three similar cups in the escutcheon of Butler unquestionably allude to the name and office of a butler or cupbearer."

The Nowells probably were followers of the Lacies out of Normandy. Robert Noell is the first that appears in Lancashire, being the last subscribing witness but one to the memorable grant by Roger de Lacy of the Villa de Tunleia to Geoffrey, son of Robert, Dean of Whalley.—See Archdeacon Churton's *Life of Dr. Alexander Nowell*, 8vo, pp. 1, 2.

L. 387. "*Ashton of Penkith.*"] Thomas Asheton, of Penketh, son and heir of Hamlet Asheton, of Blakebrook, by his wife Christiana, eldest daughter and coheiress of John Asheton, of Penketh, gent., which estate her son Thomas inherited in her right. He married Catherine, daughter of Robert Brocke, of Upton, in Cheshire; and was nephew of Robert Heywood, of Heywood, the elder, who had married Margaret, the younger daughter and coheiress of the above John Asheton, of Penketh, gent. Thomas Asheton, of Penketh, our author's friend, was one of those who suffered for their loyalty to King Charles I.; and was fined in the sum of £192. 8s. 4d. A pedigree of this family, of eight descents, occurs in the last *Visitation of Lancashire*. The Manor or Lordship of Penketh is situated in the parish of Prescot, and came into the possession of the Ashetons by the marriage of Richard Asheton with Margaret, sole daughter and heiress of Richard Penketh, of Penketh. It is now the property of Lord Lilford.

L. 388. "*Ireland of Hale.*"] John Ireland, Esq., son of Sir Gilbert Ireland, of Hutt and Hale, Knight, and father of Sir Gilbert Ireland, of the same, descended from Sir Robert Ireland, of Hutt, Knt. temp. King John. He died in 1635, having married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Hayes, Knight, Alderman and Lord Mayor of London. This poem being dated 1636, would be written shortly after the death of John Ireland, to whom the allusion is probably made, as his son Gilbert, born April 8th, 1624, would be too young to be the poet's friend. The Lordship of Hale is now possessed by John Ireland Blackburne, Esq., M.P. for Warrington.

L. 388. "*To all my Heywoods.*"] See note on l. 4, at the commencement of the poem.

L. 389. "*Brock.*"] This probably refers to William Brocke, of Upton, in the county of Chester, Esq. He was born about 1595, was a member of the Inner Temple in London, and married Anne, daughter and coheiress of Robert Mohun, of Baynton, in the county of Dorset, Esq., by whom he had several children. He died on the 4th April, 1640, and was buried on the 8th, at St. Mary's Church, in Chester. He was the relative of Asheton, of Penketh, by the marriage of his sister Catherine with that gentleman, and of Robert Heywood. On the death of William Brock, Esq., in 1734, the great-grandson of the above, the manor of Upton passed into the family of the Egertons, of Oulton, by the marriage of his eldest sister and coheiress, Elizabeth, to John Egerton, of Oulton, Esq.—See Ormerod's *Hist. Chesh.*, vol. ii. p. 444.

L. 389. "*Holcroft.*"] Thomas, eldest son of Geoffrey Holcroft, of Hurst, Esq., married Winefred, daughter of Mr. Christopher Tonge, of Tonge Hall, in the parish of Prestwich, and died about 1638; being succeeded by his son Geoffrey, æt. 49, September 23rd, 1664. The family of Holcroft was connected with the Irelands of Hale, Hopwoods of Hopwood, Bamfords of Bamford, and other kinsfolk of the Heywoods.

L. 389. "*Holt.*"] The family of Holt, here alluded to, is probably that of Ashworth Hall, in the parish of Middleton, from its relation to the Heywoods. Richard, son and heir of Robert Holt, of Ashworth, Esq., married his cousin Jane, (sister of Mrs. Peter Heywood) the youngest daughter of John Greenhalgh, of Brandlesome Hall, Esq.; being the fourth instance, in as many successive generations, of marriages being solemnized between members of these two wealthy and ancient families. Richard Holt, Esq., was buried in Middleton Church, September 28th, 1668.

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ERRATA.

L. 1.—For "holtt" read, *holte*.
L. 4.—Heywood, wombe and grave.
L. 9.—For "pejres" read, *peeres*.
L. 16.—For "laye" read, *looze*.
L. 75.—For "Larroue" read, *Lanoue*.
L. 94.—For "ferrs" read, *feres*.
L. 105.—For "attends" read, *attend*.
L. 157.—For the first "of" read, *with*.
L. 182.—For "body" read, *bodie*.
L. 214.—Read, *Giraldus*.
L. 268.—For "use" read, *are*.
L. 299.—For "hegging" read, *begging*.
L. 318.—"theis" is altered into *they*, *secundâ manu*.

ERRATA IN THE SIDE NOTES.

P. 3, *l.* 7.—For "preservable" read, *preservative*.
Note 4, *l.* 2.—For "Larroue" read, *Lanoue*.
P. 3, *l.* 15.—For "ye Bishop" read, *yt Bishop*.
P. 4, note 1, *l.* 17.—For "on" read, *ou*.
P. 12, *l.* 6.—For "discoveries" read, *discoverers*.
P. 13, note 3, *l.* 10.—For "fairre" read, *fairer*.

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Driver, Richard, Manchester
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Dyson, T. J., Tower, London

Earle, Richard, Edenhurst, near Prescott
Eccles, William, Wigan
Egerton, The Lord Francis, M.P., Worsley Hall
Egerton, Sir Philip de Malpas Grey, Bart., M.P., Oulton Park, Tarporley
Egerton, Wilbraham, Tatton Park
Eyton, J. W. K., F.S.A. L. & E., Elgin Villa, Leamington

Faulkner, George, Manchester
Feilden, Joseph, Witton, near Blackburn
Fenton, James, Jun., M.A., Heywood Hall, near Rochdale
Fernley, John, Manchester
Ffarrington, J. Nowell, Worden, near Chorley
Ffrance, Thomas Robert Wilson, Rawcliffe Hall, Garstang
Fielding, Rev. Henry, M.A., Salmonby Rectory, near Horncastle
Fleming, Thomas, Pendleton, near Manchester
Fleming, William, M.D., Ditto
Fletcher, Samuel, Broomfield, near Manchester
Fletcher, Samuel, Ardwick, near Manchester
Flintoff, Thomas, Manchester
Ford, Henry, Manchester
Fraser, James W., Manchester
Frere, W. E., Rottingdean, Sussex

Gardner, Thomas, Worcester College, Oxford
Garner, J. G., Manchester
Garnett, William James, Quernmore Park, Lancaster
Germon, Rev. Nicholas, M.A., High Master, Free Grammar School, Manchester
Gibb, William, Manchester
Gladstone, Robertson, Liverpool
Gladstone, Robert, Withington, near Manchester
Gordon, Hunter, Manchester
Gould, John, Manchester
Grant, Daniel, Manchester
Grave, Joseph, Manchester
Gray, Benjamin, B.A., Trinity College Cambridge
Gray, James, Manchester
Greaves, John, Irlam Hall, near Manchester
Grenall, G., Walton Hall, near Warrington
Grey, The Hon. William Booth
Grundy, George, Chetham Fold, near Manchester

Hadfield, George, Manchester
Hailstone, Edward, F.S.A., Horton Hall, Bradford, Yorkshire
Hardman, Henry, Bury, Lancashire
Hardy, William, Manchester
Hargreaves, George J., Hulme, Manchester
Harland, John, Manchester
Harrison, William, Brearey, Isle of Man
Harter, James Collier, Broughton Hall, near Manchester
Harter, William, Hope Hall, near Manchester
Hately, Isaiah, Manchester
Hatton, James, Richmond House, near Manchester
Hawkins, Edward, F.R.S., F.S.A., F.L.S., British Museum, London
Heelis, Stephen, Manchester
Henshaw, William, Manchester
Herbert, The Hon. and Very Rev. Wm., Dean of Manchester
Heron, Rev. George, M.A., Carrington, Cheshire
Heywood, Sir Benjamin, Bart., Claremont, near Manchester
Heywood, James, F.R.S., F.G.S., Acresfield, near Manchester
Heywood, John Pemberton, near Liverpool
Heywood, Thomas, F.S.A., Hope End, Ledbury, Herefordshire
Heywood, Thomas, Pendleton, near Manchester
Heyworth, Lawrence, Oakwood, near Stockport
Hibbert, Mrs., Salford
Hickson, Charles, Manchester
Hinde, Rev. Thomas, M.A., Winwick, Warrington
Hoare, G. M., The Lodge, Morden, Surrey
Hoare, P. R., Kelsey Park, Beckenham, Kent
Hodgson, F. R., Rusholme, Manchester.
Holden, Thomas, Summerfield, Bolton
Holden, Thomas, Rochdale
Holme, Thomas Brian, New Inn, London
Holme, Edward, M.D., Manchester
Hughes, William, Old Trafford, near Manchester
Hulme, Davenport, M.D., Manchester
Hulme, Hamlet, Medlock Vale, Manchester
Hulton, Rev. A. H., M.A., Ashton-under-Lyne
Hulton, Rev. C. G., M.A., Manchester
Hulton, H. T., Manchester
Hulton, W. A., Preston
Hunter, Rev. Joseph, F.S.A., London

Jackson, Joseph, Ardwick, near Manchester
Jacson, Charles R., Barton Lodge, Preston
James, Paul Moon, Summerville, near Manchester
Jemmett, William Thomas, Manchester
Johnson, W. R., Manchester
Johnson, Rev. W. W., M.A., Manchester
Jones, Rev. Henry Longueville, M.A., Manchester.
Jones, Jos., Jun., Hathershaw, Oldham
Jones, W., Manchester
Jordan, Joseph, Manchester

Kay, James, Turton Tower, Bolton
Kay, Samuel, Manchester
Kelsall, Strettle, Manchester
Kendrick, James, M.D., F.L.S, Warrington
Kennedy, John, Ardwick House, near Manchester
Ker, George Putland, Caius College, Cambridge
Kershaw, James, Green Heys, near Manchester
Kidd, Rev. W. J., A., Didsbury, near Manchester

Langton, William, Manchester
Larden, Rev. G. E., M.A., Brotherton Vicarage, Yorkshire
Leeming, W. B., Salford
Legh, G. Cornwall, M.P., F.G.S., High Legh, Cheshire
Legh, Rev. Peter, M. A., Newton in Makerfield
Leigh, Rev. Edward Trafford, M.A., Cheadle, Cheshire
Leigh, Henry, Moorfield Cottage, Worsley
Leresche, J. H., Manchester
Lloyd, William Horton, F.S.A., L.S., Park-square, London
Lloyd, Edward Jeremiah, Oldfield House, Altrincham
Lomas, Edward, Manchester
Lomax, Robert, Harwood, near Bolton
Love, Benjamin, Manchester
Lowndes, William, Egremont, Liverpool
Loyd, Edward, Green Hill, Manchester
Lycett, W. E., Manchester
Lyon, Edmund, M.D., Manchester
Lyon, Thomas, Appleton Hall, Warrington

McClure, William, Peel Cottage, Eccles
McFarlane, John, Manchester
McKenzie, John Whitefoord, Edinburgh
McVicar, John, Manchester
Mann, Robert, Manchester
Mare, E. R. Le, Belmont, Cheshire
Markland, J. H., F.R.S., F.S.A., Bath
Markland, Thomas, Mab Field, near Manchester
Marsden, G. E., Manchester
Marsden, William, Manchester
Marsh, John Fitchett, Warrington
Marshall, Miss, Ardwick, near Manchester
Marshall, William, Penwortham Hall, Preston
Marshall, Frederick Earnshaw, Ditto
Marshall, John, Ditto
Mason, Thomas, Copt Hewick, near Ripon
Master, Rev. Robert M., M.A., Burnley
Maude, Daniel, M.A., Salford
Mellor, Thomas, Green Heys, near Manchester
Molyneux, Edward, Chetham Hill, Manchester
Monk, John, Manchester
Moore, John, F.L.S., Cornbrook, near Manchester
Mosley, Sir Oswald, Bart., Rolleston Hall, Staffordshire
Murray, James, Manchester

Nield, William, Mayfield, Manchester
Nelson, George, Manchester
Neville, James, Beardwood, near Blackburn
Newall, Mrs. Robert, Littleborough, near Rochdale
Newall, W. N., Wellington Lodge, Littleborough
Newbery, Henry, Manchester
Nicholson, William, Thelwall Hall, Warrington
Norris, Edward, Manchester
Norwich, The Bishop of

Ormerod, George, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., F.G.S., Sedbury Park, Gloucestershire
Ormerod, George Wareing, M.A., F.G.S., Manchester
Ormerod, Henry Mere, Manchester
Owen, John, Manchester

Parker, Robert Townley, Esq., Cuerden Hall
Parkinson, Rev. Richard, B.D., Canon of Manchester
Parkinson, Captain, Polygon, Manchester.
Patten, J. Wilson, M.P., Bank Hall, Warrington
Pedley, Rev. J. T., M.A., Peakirk-cum-Glinton, Market Deeping
Peel, Sir Robert, Bart., M.P., Drayton Manor
Peel, George, Brookfield, Cheadle
Peel, Joseph, Singleton Brook, near Manchester
Peet, Thomas, Manchester
Pegge, John, Newton Heath, near Manchester
Percival, Stanley, Liverpool
Philips, Mark, M.P., The Park, Manchester
Philippi, Frederick Theod., Belfield Hall, near Rochdale
Phillips, Shakespeare, Barlow Hall, near Manchester
Phillipps, Sir Thomas, Bart., Middle Hill, Worcestershire
Piecope, Rev. John, M.A., Faraden, Cheshire
Pickford, Thomas, Mayfield, Manchester
Pickford, Thomas E., Manchester
Pierpoint, Benjamin, Warrington
Pilkington, George, Manchester
Pilling, Charles R., Cains College, Cambridge
Plant, George, Manchester
Pooley, Edward, Manchester
Pooley, John, Hulme, near Manchester
Porrett, Robert, Tower, London
Prescott, J. C., Summerville, near Manchester
Price, John Thomas, Manchester

Radford, Thomas, M.D., Higher Broughton, near Manchester
Raffles, Rev. Thomas, D.D., LL.D., Liverpool
Raikes, Rev. Henry, M.A., Hon. Can., and Chancellor of Chester
Raines, Rev. F. R., M.A., F.S.A., Milnrow Parsonage, Rochdale
Reiss, Leopold, High Field, near Manchester
Rickards, Charles H., Manchester
Ridgway, Mrs., Ridgemont, near Bolton
Ridgway, John Withenshaw, Manchester
Robson, John, Warrington
Roberts, W. J., Liverpool
Royds, Albert Hudson, Rochdale
Rushton, The Ven. Archdeacon, D.D., Manchester

Samuels, John, Manchester
Satterfield, Joshua, Manchester
Scholes, Thomas Seddon, High Bank, near Manchester
Schuster, Leo, Penge Place, Sydenham, Kent
Sharp, John, Lancaster
Sharp, Robert C., Bramhall Hall, Cheshire

Sharp, Thomas B., Manchester
Sharp, William, Lancaster
Sharp, William, London
Simms, Charles S., Manchester
Simms, George, Manchester
Skaife, John, Blackburn
Skelmersdale, The Lord, Lathom House
Smith, Rev. Jeremiah, D.D., Leamington
Smith, Junius, Strangeways Hall, Manchester
Smith, J. R., Old Compton-street, London.
Sowler, R. S., Manchester
Sowler, Thomas, Manchester
Standish, W. J., Duxbary Hall, Chorley
Stanley, The Lord, Knowsley
Stanley, The Lord, of Alderley
Sudlow, John, Jun., Manchester
Swain, Charles, M.R.S.L., Cheetwood Priory, near Manchester.
Swanwick, Josh. W., Hollins Vale, Bury, Lancashire

Tabley, The Lord De, Tabley, Cheshire
Tattershall, Rev. Thomas, D.D., Liverpool
Tatton, Thos., Withenshaw, Cheshire
Tayler, Rev. John James, B.A., Manchester
Taylor, Thomas Frederick, Wigan
Teale, Josh., Salford
Thomson, James, Manchester
Thorley, George, Manchester
Thorpe, Robert, Manchester
Tinker, Wm., Hyde, near Manchester
Tobin, Rev. John, M.A., Liscard, Cheshire
Townend, John, Polygon, Manchester
Townend, Thomas, Polygon, Manchester
Turnbull, W. B., D.D., Edinburgh
Turner, Samuel, F.R.S, F.S.A., F.G.S., Liverpool
Turner, Thomas, Manchester

Vitrè, Edward Denis De, M.D., Lancaster

Walker, John, Weaste, near Manchester
Walker, Samuel, Prospect Hill, Pendleton
Wanklyn, J. B., Weaste, near Manchester
Wanklyn, James H., Crumpsall House, near Manchester
Warburton, R. E. E., Arley Hall, near Northwich
Ware, Samuel Hibbert, M.D., F.R.S.E., Edinburgh
Wareing, Ralph, Manchester
Westhead, Joshua P., Manchester
Westminster, The Marquis of
Whitaker, Rev. Robert Nowell, M.A., Vicar of Whalley
Whitehead, James, Manchester
Whitelegg, Rev. William, M.A., Hulme, near Manchester
Whitmore, Edward, Jun., Manchester
Whitmore, Henry, Manchester
Wilson, William James, Manchester
Wilton, The Earl of, Heaton House
Winter, Gilbert, Stocks, near Manchester
Worthington, Edward, Manchester
Wray, Rev. Cecil Daniel, M.A., Canon of Manchester
Wright, Rev. Henry, M.A., Mottram, St. Andrew's, near Macclesfield
Wroe, Frederick, Cheetham Hill near Manchester

Yates, Joseph B., West Dingle, Liverpool

WORKS PUBLISHED BY THE CHETHAM SOCIETY.

FOR THE YEAR 1843—1844.

1 Brereton's Travels.
2 The Civil War Tracts of Lancashire.
3 Chester's Triumph, 1610.

FOR THE YEAR 1844—1845.

4 The Life of Adam Martindale.
5 Lancashire Memorials of the Rebellion of 1715.
6 Potts's Discoverie of Witches.

FOR THE YEAR 1845—1846.

7 Dr. James's Iter Lancastrense.
8 Vol. I. Gastrell's Notitia. *Cheshire.*
9 The Norris Papers.

WORKS SELECTED FOR PUBLICATION.

Dee's Compendius Rehearsal.

Gastrell's Notitia Cestriensis. *The Second Part.*

Proceedings of the Presbyterian Classis of Manchester and the Neighbourhood, from 1646 to 1660, from an Unpublished Manuscript.

Correspondence between Samuel Hartlib (the Friend of Milton), and Dr. Worthington, of Jesus College, Cambridge (a native of Manchester), from 1655 to 1661, on various Literary Subjects.

A Reprint of Henry Bradshaw's Life and History of St. Werburgh, from the very rare 4to. of 1521, printed by Pynson.

Volume of Early Lancashire and Cheshire Wills.

A Memoir of the Chetham Family, from original documents.

The Diary of the Rev. Henry Newcome, M.A., from the original MS. in the possession of his descendant, the Rev. Thomas Newcome, M.A., Rector of Shenley, Herts.

The Coucher Book of Whalley Abbey.

The inedited Remains (including some interesting letters addressed to him) of the late John Byrom, M.A., F.R.S., now first printed from the original MSS. in the possession of his last lineal descendant, Miss Atherton of Kersall Cell. By the Rev. R. Parkinson, B.D., Canon of Manchester.

WORKS SUGGESTED FOR PUBLICATION.

Selections from the Unpublished Correspondence of the Rev. John Whittaker, Author of the History of Manchester, and other Works.

More's (George) Discourse concerning the Possession and Dispossession of Seven Persons in one Family in Lancashire, from a Manuscript formerly belonging to Thoresby, and which gives a much fuller Account of that Transaction than the Printed Tract of 1600; with a Bibliographical and Critical Review of the Tracts in the Darrel Controversy.

A Selection of the most Curious Papers and Tracts relating to the Pretender's Stay in Manchester in 1745, in Print and Manuscript.

Catalogue of the Alchemical Library of John Webster, of Clitheroe, from a Manuscript in the Rev. T. Corser's possession; with a fuller Life of him, and List of his Works, than has yet appeared.

"Antiquities concerning Cheshire," by Randall Mainshull, written A.D. 1591, from a MS. in the Gough Collection.

Register of the Lancaster Priory, from a MS. (No. 3764) in the Harleian Collection.

Selections from the Visitations of Lancashire in 1533, 1567, and 1613, in the Herald's College, British Museum, Bodleian, and Caius College Libraries.

Selections from Dodsworth's MSS. in the Bodleian Library, Randal Holmes's Collections for Lancashire and Cheshire (MSS. Harleian), and Warburton's Collections for Cheshire (MSS. Lansdown).

The Letters and Correspondence of Sir William Brereton, from the original MSS., in 5 vols folio, in the British Museum.

A Poem, by Laurence Bostock, on the subject of the Saxon and Norman Earls of Chester.

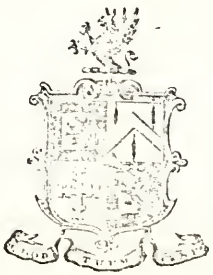
History of the Earldom of Chester, collected by Archbishop Parker, entitled De Successione Comitum Cestriæ a Hugone Lupo ad Johannem Scoticum, from the original MS. in Ben'et College Library, Cambridge.

Volume of Funeral Certificates of Lancashire and Cheshire.

Lucianus Monacus de laude Cestrie, a Latin MS. of the 13th century, descriptive of the walls, gates, &c., of the City of Chester, formerly belonging to Thomas Allen, DD., and now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Richard Robinson's Golden Mirrour, Bk. lett. 4to. Lond., 1580. Containing Poems on the Etymology of the names of several Cheshire Families; from the exceedingly rare copy formerly in the collection of Richard Heber, Esq., (see Cat. pt. iv. 2413,) and now in the British Museum.

A volume of the early Ballad Poetry of Lancashire.



THE FIRST REPORT

OF THE

Council of the Chetham Society,

BEING

FOR THE YEAR ENDING MARCH, 1844.

THE Council deem it necessary first to advert in their Report to the number of members.

The Society was limited to three hundred and fifty, by the rules agreed upon at the general meeting on the 23d March, 1843; and this number was speedily filled up shortly after its formation. To meet occasional vacancies occurring, by death or otherwise, in the body of members, there is a reserved list of candidates for admission; and there appears every reason to believe that the society may be considered as established upon a permanent basis; and that its present annual income will not diminish, and will be adequate to the outlay to be incurred in fulfilling the objects proposed, and which are detailed in the original prospectus.

It will be seen from the Treasurer's report, that all the annual subscriptions for the first year have been paid, with the exception of one. Twenty-two of the members have elected to compound for their future subscriptions by the payment of £10 each, in pursuance of the power given by the rules of the Society; and the Council have ordered these compositions, amounting to £220, to be invested in the £3 per cent. consols, in the joint names of WILLIAM LANGTON, Esq., the Treasurer, and WILLIAM FLEMING, Esq., M.D., the Honorary Secretary. The dividends arising from this investment will be applicable as part of the annual income of the Society.

The Council would next refer to the publications, completed or in progress. The first of these, the *Travels of Sir William Brereton*, which has been completed and delivered to the members, was printed from a manuscript obligingly furnished by Sir Philip de Malpas Grey Egerton, Bart. As the evidence in favour of its being an authentic production of this celebrated Parliamentary General appeared to be incontrovertible, the work seemed to the Council naturally to fall within that department of the proposed publications of the Society which is devoted to the illustration of the history and biography of distinguished natives and residents of Lancashire and Cheshire. The Council have felt pleasure in observing, that since this publication issued, (and which was carefully and satisfactorily edited by Edward Hawkins, Esq., of the British Museum,) reference has been made to it in various quarters, as containing curious and important particulars, throwing great light on general and local history.

The second publication for the first year, and which will be ready for delivery to the members immediately after the present annual meeting, will be a Collection of Tracts relating to the military proceedings in Lancashire during the great Civil War, edited by George Ormerod, D.C.L., &c. the able historian of Cheshire. The Council feel satisfied that this publication will be admitted to be an important and valuable contribution to the history of Lancashire, the most interesting portion of which it illustrates by reprints of the tracts of the period, or extracts from them, arranged in chronological order, and rendered still more valuable by the connecting and explanatory notes of the accurate and judicious editor.

The third and last of the publications for the first year, which is now in progress, and may be expected to appear very shortly, will be *Iter Lancastrense*, by Dr. Richard James, an English Poem, written about 1620, giving an account of an excursion into Lancashire in that year, from the original MSS. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Edited by the Rev. Thomas Corser.

The other works, which are, under the sanction of the Council, in progress with a view to publication for the use of the Society, are: —

1. The Life of the Rev. Adam Martindale, Vicar of Rostherne, in Cheshire; from the MSS. in the British Museum. Edited by the Rev. Richard Parkinson, Canon of Manchester.
2. Dee's Compendious Rehearsal, and other Autobiographical Tracts, not included in the recent publication of the Camden Society, with his collected Correspondence. Edited by James Crossley, Esq.

3. Potts's Discovery of Witches in the County of Lancaster, from the edition of 1613. Edited by JAMES CROSSLEY, Esq.
4. A selection from the Correspondence of the Norris Family, of Speke Hall, near Liverpool. Arranged and edited by THOMAS HEYWOOD, Esq., F.S.A., &c.
5. Memorials relating to Humphrey Chetham and his Family. Collected and edited by the Rev. J. T. ALLEN, M.A.

The Council also deem it highly essential that immediate arrangements should be made for the collection and publication, for the use of the Society, under the superintendence of a competent editor, of all the State Papers and scattered documents and letters having historical interest relating to Lancashire and Cheshire. As such a work requires extensive co-operation to be brought out in anything like a complete and satisfactory state, the Council emphatically urge the members to unite in making application, in every suitable quarter, for the communication of letters and documents which may fall within the plan of such a work; and trust that every member who may have original MSS. in his possession, will not scruple to allow them to be used for such a purpose. By the liberal communication, on an extensive scale, of even single letters of an interesting nature, a very valuable work may be composed, and such as it is the peculiar province of societies like the present to originate and promote.

The Council cannot conclude their report without expressing their sense of the great obligation which they consider the members lie under to the Honorary Secretary, Dr. FLEMING. His able, persevering, and energetic exertions have never been wanting, on any occasion, when the interests or success of the Society could be promoted or secured.

DR. *WILLIAM LANGTON, Treasurer, in account with the Chetham Society*, 1843-4. CR.

		L.	S.	D.
2	Subscriptions in arrear.			
326	Annual Subscriptions collected ..	326	0	0
328				
22	Life Members' compositions	220	0	0
350				
	Interest allowed by Bankers.....	4	16	0
		£550	16	0

1844.
March 1. To Balance..... £447 1 4

Errors excepted,
WILLIAM LANGTON, Treasurer.

1843.			L.	S	D.
April 13.	By	Expenses incurred by Honorary Secretary	2	12	4
May 6.	„	Ditto ditto	1	4	4
„ 23.	„	Stationery.....	0	2	0
July 25.	„	T. Sowler, printing and advertising	6	18	6
„ „	„	Taylor and Garnett, advertising	1	10	6
„ „	„	Bradshaw and Co.. circulars	0	9	0
Aug. 26.	„	Transcript of Sir Wm. Brereton	5	5	0
Dec. 12.	„	Richards, printer, viz., Sir Wm. Brereton's Travels, and general printing	81	19	0
„ 28.	„	Stamped Envelopes	2	4	6
„ 31.	„	Postages charged by the Bankers	0	14	6
1844.					
Jan. 16.	„	Simms and Co., carriage of parcel and Stationery	0	15	0
			103	14	8
March 1.	„	Balance in the Bank at the close of the year	447	1	4
			£550	16	0

AUDITED,
JOHN MOORE,
GEORGE PEEL,
EDWARD WHITMORE, in the place of
T. W. WINSTANLEY, deceased.

THE SECOND REPORT

OF THE

Council of the Chetham Society,

BEING

FOR THE YEAR ENDING MARCH, 1845.

THE Council have to report, that, as some difficulty arose in bringing out Dr. James's *Iter Lancastrense*, the proposed third volume for the first year, as early as had been expected, it was determined to substitute in its place a reprint of *Chester's Triumph*, one of the works which had been suggested for publication; and this has accordingly been printed and issued during the last year. As the only specimen, connected with the counties within the range of this Society, of a very curious class of compositions to which of late considerable attention has been paid, the pageants which succeeded the early mysteries, the Council considered that a reprint of this tract, which is of considerable rarity, was both within the scope of their plan, and would be generally acceptable to the members; and the Rev. T. CORSER kindly lent his aid by supplying an appropriate introduction and notes, and superintending the work during its progress through the press. The following will be the publications of this Society for the year ending March, 1845:—

1. The Life of Adam Martindale, written by himself, and now first printed from the original manuscript in the British Museum; edited by the Rev. RICHARD PARKINSON, B.D., Canon of Manchester.
2. The Journal of Peter Clarke, relating to the Insurrection, begun in Scotland, and concluded at Preston, Lancashire, on November 14th,

1715. Now first published from an original manuscript, and edited, with an Introduction and Notes, and an Appendix of Supplementary Papers, by SAMUEL HIBBERT WARE, M.D., F.R.S., &c. &c.

3. Potts's Discovery of the Witches tried at Lancaster, in August, 1612; reprinted from the scarce edition of 1613, with an Introduction and Notes.

In the Life of Adam Martindale, which presents a most unreserved and vivid picture of the author and his opinions, and the transactions in which he was engaged, the Council may congratulate the members of the Society on an acquisition of no ordinary value to the general stock of English biographical literature; while the many curious particulars which it contains referring to the history, ecclesiastical and civil, of this district, give it a singular interest in this locality. Perhaps few works afford a clearer insight into the points in dispute between the various religious parties which divided the country from the death of Charles the First, to the eviction of the Nonconformists; and none certainly give a more complete portrait of the individual author. The research, care, and judgment, with which its very able editor, the Reverend Canon PARKINSON, has executed a task of some difficulty, have added greatly, in the opinion of the Council, to the attraction of the book; and, as they will be appreciated by every reader, are deserving of the most grateful acknowledgements of the members.

The Papers relative to the Rebellion of 1715, edited by Dr. HIBBERT WARE, will, the Council feel assured, be hailed by the members as an important addition to the history of a period not so well known as its interest deserves, and with respect to which the materials are rather scanty, so far at least as Lancashire is concerned. The name of the editor will be a sufficient guarantee that nothing will be wanting in the shape of illustration which can add to the value of the materials which he has collected. Dr. HIBBERT WARE, also, with a liberality which entitles him to be considered a benefactor to the Society, announced his intention, some time ago, of presenting to the members a publication, to be printed at his own expense, to form part of the series of its works. With this intention he had printed, to be issued in a separate form, "An Essay on the State of Parties in Lancashire, in 1715," It appearing to the Council desirable that this valuable summary should be combined with the papers last mentioned, and to which it seemed to form a most appropriate introduction, Dr. H. WARE has been requested to concur in that arrangement; and accordingly "The State of Parties,"

which the members are to consider as Dr. H. WARE's free and liberal contribution, will in all probability be included in the second volume of the Society for the past year, instead of being presented in a separate form.

In the general history of the two counties, which it is one great object of the Chetham Society to illustrate, the history of their superstitions can never be considered as unimportant or uninteresting. Potts's Discovery of Witches, published in 1613, is unquestionably the most curious tract now known relating to this head of inquiry; as it is also the most complete and authentic report we have of any early English trial of witches, is of uncommon occurrence, and has never been reprinted except once, and very inaccurately, in the voluminous collection of the Somers's Tracts, edited by Sir W. Scott, it appeared to the Council to be deserving of republication. As near a fac-simile as was practicable has been given of the edition of 1613; and such notes and preliminary observations as seemed to be required, without overstepping the bounds of just and necessary illustration, have been appended by the editor.

In the selection of publications which has been made, it has been the desire of the Council to study variety as much as possible, and to avoid too exclusive a limitation to any particular class or description of works. It has likewise been their wish to select those which were not deficient in interest to the general reader, at the same time that they fell legitimately within the scope of the Society, and possessed a permanent value from their decided bearing upon the history or biography of the two counties. How far the main objects of the Council have been attained, it will be for the members generally to judge. Of the three works for the year ending March, 1845, the first will be ready for delivery to the members on the 3d instant, and the second and third may be confidently expected to be in the hands of the members during the present month of March. The following is a list of the works in progress, or determined upon, for future publication: —

1. Dee's Compendious Rehearsal, and other Autobiographical Tracts — in the press.
2. Dr. James's Iter Lancastrense — in the press.
3. Proceedings of the Presbyterian Classis of Manchester and the Neighbourhood from 1646 to 1660, from an unpublished manuscript, edited by the Rev. GEORGE DUGARD, M.A.
4. Bishop Gastrell's Notitia Cestriensis, from the original MSS., edited by the Rev. F. R. RAINES, M.A., F.S.A.

5. The Diary of the Rev. Henry Newcome, from the original MSS. in the possession of his descendant, the Rev. Thomas Newcome, M.A., Rector of Shenley, Herts.
6. A Memoir of the Chetham family, from original documents, by the Rev. J. T. Allen, M.A.
7. A Selection from the Papers of the Family of Norris, of Speke, edited by Thomas Heywood, Esq., F.S.A.
8. The Coucher Book of Whalley Abbey.

With respect to the Memoir of the Chetham Family, the Council are happy to state, that materials of great interest have unexpectedly presented themselves, which will add considerably to the means afforded of rendering it full, ample, and satisfactory. For the manner in which these materials have been made available, as well as for the energetic and untiring assiduity with which he has forwarded the interest and accelerated the progress of the Society, the members are under the greatest obligations to their invaluable Secretary, William Fleming, Esq., M.D.

THE THIRD REPORT

OF THE

Council of the Chetham Society,

BEING

FOR THE YEAR ENDING MARCH, 1846.

IN presenting their report to the general meeting, the Council have merely to refer to the publications for the year 1845–6, and those which are now in preparation for the year ensuing.

The first of the books for the last year, Bishop Gastrell's "Notitia Cestriensis," part I, containing the Cheshire portion, is now in the hands of the members. This invaluable repository of facts relating to the ecclesiastical state of that part of the diocese, has been rendered still more useful by the elaborate annotations of its indefatigable editor, the Rev. F. R. RAINES, and will be hailed, in the opinion of the Council, as a most desirable accession to the general historical materials of the county of Chester.

The second of the publications, the "Norris Papers," is already printed, and will be ready for delivery to the members in the course of a few days. This forms one of a class, namely, family correspondence, to which perhaps too little attention has hitherto been paid in this country. The Council cannot but avow their opinion, that there is no family correspondence now existing, of as early a date as this, from which an interesting selection might not be made. They would wish to impress this consideration upon the possessors of similar family papers, who are perhaps generally disposed to underrate the value and interest of what may, at the first sight, appear only trivial and commonplace communications, and are therefrom, not from any

want of liberality, but a misconception as to their suitableness for publication, rather disposed to keep back the correspondence they may possess. It is, however, from those sources that the important facts are mainly derived which are of such unspeakable use to the historian of manners; and it may safely be asserted, that until an accumulation of such selections shall have enriched this department of our historical literature, at present so poor and meagre, and shall furnish a connected series from the period of the Paxton correspondence downwards, no account of the social habits and character of the English people, worthy of that great subject, at once accurate, vivid, and comprehensive, and fully disclosing the penetralia of the domestic life of our forefathers, in all its various lights and shadows, can ever be furnished to the public.

The Council think they may refer, as some confirmation of their observations, to the work now in review, which, amongst many other notices of interest, gives a lively picture of the state and municipal relations of Liverpool, then fast emerging into great commercial importance, and of the parties and persons by whom it was principally swayed. They feel assured that every reader will receive gratification from the amusing and agreeable introduction and notes of its able editor, Mr. Thomas Heywood.

Various circumstances, which it is scarcely necessary to mention in detail, have contributed to delay the appearance of Dr. James's "Iter Lancastrense," which, in the order of priority, is the first of the publications for the last year, but which will be the last issued of the three. The reverend editor, Mr. Corser, however, confidently expects that it will be in the hands of the members within at least a month from this time; and it may be observed that though the poem, which is the very curious production of a very singular writer, and in all respects deserving of publication, is not long, it appeared to its editor to require, for its full elucidation, a great extent of annotation, and the difficulty of satisfactorily explaining some of the allusions of the author, from recondite sources, has tended materially to prevent its appearance in the order originally announced and intended.

The publications now in progress, of which the three first issued will constitute the works for 1846-7, are the following: —

1. Henry Bradshaw's Life and History of St. Werburgh, reprinted from the very rare quarto of 1521, printed by Pynson, and edited, with an introduction and notes, by Edward Hawkins, Esq., of the British Museum.

2. Proceedings of the Presbyterian Classis of Manchester and the Neighbourhood, from 1646 to 1660, edited from the original MSS., with an introduction and notes, by the Rev. G. DUGARD.
3. Correspondence between Samuel Hartlib and Dr. Worthington, of Jesus College, Cambridge, (a native of Manchester,) from 1653 to 1661, on various literary subjects.
4. Dee's Compendious Rehearsal, and other Autobiographical Tracts, not included in the recent publication of the Camden Society.
5. Bishop Gastrell's Notitia Cestriensis, part II., viz. Lancashire, edited, with a full Memoir of Bishop Gastrell, and extracts from his correspondence, by the Rev. F. R. RAINES.
6. The Inedited Remains of John Byrom, Esq., M.A., edited, with an introduction and notes, by the Rev. Canon PARKINSON.
7. The Diary of the Rev. H. Newcome, M.A., from the original MSS. in the possession of his descendant, the Rev. Thomas Newcome, M.A., Rector of Shenley, Herts.

DR. *WILLIAM LANGTON, Treasurer, in account with the Chetham Society*, 1845-6. CR.

		L.	s.	d.
10	Arrears at the date of last Annual Meeting.			
5	Members retired.			
35	Subscriptions collected.....	35	0	0
10	Subscriptions of 1845-6, accounted for last year.			
6	Ditto ditto, now in arrear.			
304	Annual Subscriptions collected ..	304	0	0
320	Total of Subscribing Members.			
30	Life Members. (Compositions invested in £300 Consols.)			
350				
3	Life Members, paid in the year 1845-6	30	0	0
30	Subscriptions for the year 1846-7, already collected.....	30	0	0
	Received for Books supplied to New Members	16	0	0
	Difference between Pounds due and Guineas received	0	9	0
	Dividends on Consols	6	14	0
	Interest allowed by the Bankers..	6	10	2
1845.		128	13	2
March 1.	Balance in Bank at commencement of the year.....	246	11	10
		£675	5	0

1846.
March 5. To Balance £119 6 7

5th March, 1846.
Errors excepted,
WILLIAM LANGTON, Treasurer.

1845.			L.	s.	d.
Mar. 11.	By Simms and Dinham, for Stationery	9 7 0			
„ „ „	Postage of Adam Martindale	1 10 0			
			1	17	0
May 24.	„ Ditto of Potts's Discoverie.....		1	10	0
Aug. 15.	„ Ditto of Rebellion, 1715		1	5	6
„ 28.	„ Taylor and Garnett, advertising.....		0	8	0
„ „ „	T. Sowler, ditto.....		0	4	0
„ „ „	C. Simms, Stationery ..		3	16	0
„ „ „	Neill and Co., Lancashire Memorials of the Rebellion of 1715		99	12	0
„ „ „	Simms & Dinham, binding and carriage of State of Parties, Adam Martindale, and Potts's Discoverie		48	0	0
Oct. 11.	„ Simms & Dinham, binding Lancashire Memorials.....		20	9	6
Dec. 30.	„ Postages charged by the Bankers		9	14	5
1846.					
Feb. 6.	„ Cost of Indices of Adam Martindale.....	2 2 0			
„ „ „	Of Notitia Cestriensis..	10 10 0			
			12	12	0
„ 17.	„ Cost of £70 Consols, at 96⅛.....		67	11	6
„ 18.	„ C. Simms, Circulars	2 7 0			
„ „ „	For first Sheet of Presbyterian Classis.....	1 2 6			
			3	9	6
„ 19.	„ Cost of Postage Stamps by Hon. Secretary....		2	1	3
Mar. 4.	„ Simms & Dinham, Potts's Discoverie	20 13 9			
„ „ „	Notitia Cestriensis 173	18 1			
„ „ „	Norris Papers	62 0 0			
„ „ „	On account of Iter Lancastrense	4 10 0			
„ „ „	Sundries.....	0 19 8			
			263	1	6
			525	18	5
„ 5.	„ Balance in Bank at the close of the year.....		119	6	7
			£675	5	0

Audited 29th April, 1846.
SAMUEL WALKER,
JOHN OWEN,
HENRY M. ORMEROD.

DR. *WILLIAM LANGTON, Treasurer, in account with the Chetham Society, 1844-5.* CR.

		L.	S.	D.
2	Arrears at the date of last Annual Meeting collected	2	0	0
10	Subscriptions now in arrear.			
282	Annual Subscriptions collected	282	0	0
292	Total of Subscribing Members.			
28	Ditto Life Members			
320				
6	Life Members paid in the year 1844-5	60	0	0
10	Subscriptions for the year 1845-6 already received	10	0	0
	Received for Books supplied to New Members	5	0	0
	Difference between Pounds due and Guineas received	0	2	0
	Subscription of a deceased Member overpaid, liable to be recalled	1	0	0
	Dividend on Consols	3	7	0
	Interest allowed by Bankers	0	5	3
		372	14	3
1844. *March* 1.	Balance in hand at commencement of the year	447	1	4
		£819	15	7

1845.				
March 1.	To Balance	£246	11	10

1844.			L.	S.	D.
March 15.	By Postages (Brereton) incurred by the Honorary Secretary		1	14	8
April 10.	„ Transcript of Iter Lancastrense		0	18	0
„ „	„ Carriage of Civil War Tracts		1	8	6
„ „	„ Civil War Tracts		129	0	0
Aug. 14.	„ Cash paid Simms & Dinham for Circulars, &c.		3	2	0
Octr. 23.	„ Cost of £230, 3 % Cons. at 100		230	5	9
„ 24.	„ Ditto Power of Attorney and Postage		1	1	10
Decr. 21.	„ London Postages		2	0	0
„ „	„ Postages (Civil War Tracts) incurred by the Hon. Secretary		1	10	0
„ 21.	„ Stephenson, for engraving Woodcuts for Chester's Triumph		1	0	0
„ 31	„ Postages		0	13	9
1845.					
Feby. 24.	„ Harrison, for Circulars		0	12	6
„ „	„ Charles Simms & Co. for do. &c.		5	17	6
„ 27.	„ Do. for do.		1	4	6
„ „	„ Simms & Dinham, for Chester's Triumph		32	2	7
„ „	„ Do. for Adam Martindale		80	2	5
„ „	„ Do. for Potts's Discoverie of Witches		77	10	3
			573	3	9
	Balance in the Bank at the close of the year		246	11	10
			£819	15	7

Errors excepted.

WILLIAM LANGTON,
By his Attorney,
E. WHITMORE, Esq.

March 4th, 1845.

Examined and found right,

JOHN MOORE,
THOS. ARMSTRONG,
J. B. WANKLYN.

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